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ABSTRACT

The objective of this document is to outline the relationship between tourism and cultural minorities. It aims to understand the nature of the relationship, to point out its most serious and harmful effects and to make known some of the survival strategies that cultural minorities employ. The document calls tourism "the greatest economic and socio-cultural phenomenon of our epoch" and suggests that cultural minorities suffer more than anyone from its negative effects. This document, three years in the making, was born from an interest in tourism and its consequences among indigenous people. The contents includes the following chapters: "Tourism and Cultural Minorities: Double Marginalisation and Survival Strategies" by Pierre Rossel; "A Look Behind the Tourism Facade: Some Considerations on the Development of Tourism in the Province of Ifugao (Philippines)" by Marc-Olivier Gonseth; "The Maasai--Choice of East African Tourists--Admired and Ridiculed" by Philip Bachmann; "Tourism and Indonesian Cultural Minorities" by Jean-Luc Maurer and Arlette Zeigler; "And Why Don't You Go to the Seychelles?" by Asun Garcia; "Potlatch and Totem: The Attraction of America's Northwest Coast" by Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff; "Ethnic Minorities and the Development of Tourism in the Valleys of North Pakistan" by Gerard Roville; and "Tourism in the Upper Amazon and Its Effects on the Indigenous Population" by Annemarie Seiler-Baldinger. This document includes numerous maps and photographs. (TES)

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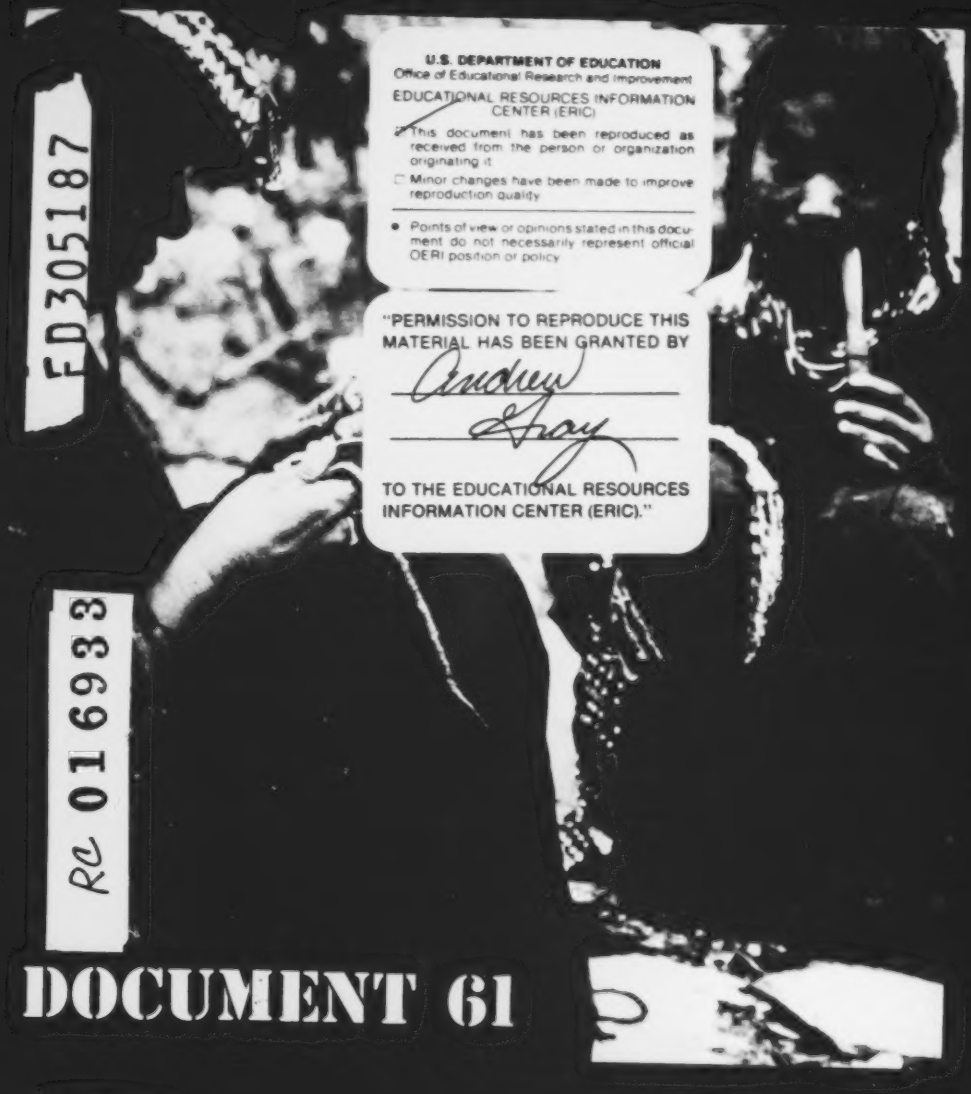

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Tourism: Manufacturing the Exotic

Pierre Rossel (Ed.)

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Tourism: Manufacturing the Exotic

Pierre Rossel (Ed.)

Copenhagen, August 1988

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Translation by
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Introduction

The objective of this document is to outline the relationship between tourism and cultural minorities. It aims to understand the nature of the relationship, to point out its most serious and harmful effects and to make known some of the survival strategies which cultural minorities employ. Tourism is the greatest economic and socio-cultural phenomenon of our epoch and cultural minorities suffer more than anyone from its negative effects.

This document developed over the space of three years through the common interest of several people in tourism and its consequences. The contributors have each studied the problematic relationship between tourism and cultural minorities and provide concrete examples covering a wide geographical and cultural spectrum. The richness and variety of the authors' observations arise from their differing perceptions, approaches and formulations of the problem. This heterogeneity has permitted the emergence of a theoretical framework which is presented in the first article: *Tourism and cultural minorities: double marginalisation and survival strategies*.

We have all discussed the virtues and limits of the concept of cultural minority, a concept which cannot be defined in itself and holds no absolute and unequivocal value. Over and above this is the problem of understanding the hold which the processes of tourism have over peoples already facing many difficulties.

Tourism is, for most people, a sun bathing of pleasure and play. But this ought not to obscure the profound harm which this chance of affluence creates. In the short term it seems that the effects of happiness for some continue at the expense of others' misfortune.

P. Rossel, editor.

Tourism and Cultural Minorities: Double Marginalisation and Survival Strategies

By Pierre Rossel

Introduction

Does tourism present specific problems for cultural minorities? Are there marked geographical and economical differences within the range of problems? What do we mean by the terms "tourism" and "cultural minority"? Do we need a general framework which will relate tourism with the survival and integrity of cultural minorities? These are some of the initial indispensible questions we must ask if we want to go beyond simply understanding the facts about acculturation and destructuralisation. This document consists of a series of articles written from a local perspective; if they are considered in a global and historical perspective another dimension emerges. In this article I shall try to unravel the thread which links together the difficulties that cultural minorities face in different parts of the world arising from tourism.

The tourism phenomenon

Throughout history men and women have travelled because of trade, war or migration; peoples have gone in search of a more favourable land.

But tourism as we know it is a more recent phenomenon, linked to the mechanisms of a consumer society. By mass tourism we mean here the crowds which are drawn to the beaches and big festivals, or the smaller groups which come one after another to popular tourist spots. In these agglomerations, tourists take on a behaviour and a frame of mind which specifically create an anonymity, conformity and absence of responsibility: concentrations of people produce problems in all countries. In Third World countries, a visit by a few narrow-minded, or even racist, travellers leaves less trace than the continual presence of a large group of tourists; whatever their intentions, the latter wreak havoc; the face of the social and cultural landscape is transformed.

The development of modern tourism

We shall examine briefly the factors which have encouraged the development of

modern tourism. Progress in the means of transport - ships and the railways at first; aerial transport later - has permitted more distant and speedy travel on a larger scale than ever before. Without the advent of holiday pay, which brought relaxation and leisure to Mr. Everyman, and the general increase in purchasing power, tourism would never have had its present boom.

Among the factors which explain the success of mass tourism, we can mention the urbanisation which has emptied the countryside. Stress, work-relations and urban life with all its constraints, noise and inconveniences, stimulate the need to break out, to get away and relax, have a change of environment and find more agreeable surroundings. If tourism has become general practice in our countries, it is because our contemporaries see in it a short, intense and worthwhile experience which makes available a different world. Nowadays, tourism has become a way of increasing prestige, affirming social status and psychosocial influence on which publicity, among other things, plays a part (one simply has to have "done" Iceland or Nepal!).

Pastimes of the Rich

In order to satisfy the demand for leisure, industrial society has created an important structure. Following the laws of the modern economy, demand is itself stimulated, orientated and, at times, totally created, so that the tourist business can continue to exist. Such a system apparently functions for no other reason than to ensure its own continuation. To increase waste and avoid boredom, new tourism fashions are continually being designed just as in other areas of consumption.

This increase in useless pursuits has, up until now, only touched a small part of the world's population. Whereas the colonialism of the past appears to have almost disappeared, it is well known that it actually continues through unequal economic development. Rich nations continually strengthen the means of their domination over others. After having been stripped of their basic materials, poor regions are now the tourist's favourite hunting grounds. It has become quite normal for privileged people to spend their holidays in areas inhabited by those who themselves do not have the means to travel. The peoples of the North move towards the South because, there, hotel labour and artisan goods are cheap: the present development in mass tourism is therefore linked to geo-economical disparities.

Big Business

The infrastructure necessary for organising tours and accommodating tourists

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involves very important investments. These concern first of all the agents and tour operators who together administer tourism. Their objective is to use all within their means to persuade their clients and satisfy them, to reproduce and improve the distribution of products, to create new needs etc. The tour operators monopolise the whole business; they have recourse to the services of numerous retailers, travel agencies and commercial outlets.

The transport business – train, bus, ship, plane, ski lift – is an essential link in the chain. In places where there is not a monopoly, different companies try to attract custom by "selling" speed, comfort, security and, above all, price.

The hotel infrastructure is the next link. Some authors talk of the "hotel bubble" which insulates tourists within a safe base from which to achieve their objectives.

Tour operators who want to see their businesses flourish have to create an atmosphere where novelty attracts (exoticism) and reassures (comfort, security, amenities). This is the reason why, in the Third World, luxurious hotels are built which contrast with the poverty of the inhabitants of the country; we will return to this problem later.

In addition to transport and hotels, tourism has breathed life into an number of other businesses, productions and services such as photography, the sport and clothing industries, local artisan production and a whole entertainment infrastructure (museums, folk dancing, night-clubs etc). The valuing of land, cultural heritage and entertainments is linked to the open market: there one finds public, private, foreign and local capital, backing businesses of different standing which are behind many initiatives.

Finally, tourism needs a more general infrastructure: a network of roads, ports and airports, telecommunications and a water and energy distribution system. In rich countries, everyone enjoys such facilities to a greater or lesser extent, but in certain parts of the Third World the contrast is shocking. For example, while a population suffers from a lack of water, big hotels squander it.

The Politics of Poor Countries

There are many Third World countries which see tourism as an important resource; that is why they invest in this sector. There is no lack of foreign capital when it comes to furnishing a hotel: *profit oblige*...but when it comes to dealing with general infrastructural work (roads, airports), the recipient countries seek foreign aid which involves them in a spiral of debt and dependence. For example, tourists demand telephone facilities which, no doubt, contribute towards the development of the country, but the expense of this is out of proportion with the host country's meagre budget. The tour operators invest in areas which they

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think will bring profit; but for the governments, other considerations, be they political or prestigious, are just as important.

Maasai woman collecting water (photo: Jørgen Schytte).

Foreign tourists are supposed to bring foreign exchange into the countries they visit. Those persons who provide goods and services as well as State functionaries take their share of this booty. Policies vary: rich countries impose taxes on certain aspects of tourism. In Third World countries, however, some take a very direct line: they force tourists to dispose of their money and they institute strict control on foreign exchange. Other countries are more complacent and may not even have a policy. Governments can show indifference to the effects of tourism on the national economy and appear more preoccupied with dividing their economic cake between foreign companies. Usually, however, there is a considerable discrepancy between governments' declared intentions and reality.

The Dream Sellers

The tourism world pursues its objective – a profitable business – and it does not bother about moral considerations. The tour operators' brief is succinct: in its

field of operation it is limited to providing means of access, satisfying the demands for comfort, security and the picturesque. The Other, that is to say, all that which is missing in our urban and industrial world, is presented by the publicity in caricature form ("The delights of the Orient"), spectacularly ("The brave Ifugao warriors") or even as lies ("The Karens who have never seen a white man"). The rest of the world is judged in purely western values.

The Impact of the Publicity

Tourists enter into a process which usually endorses the images prepared for them. Certainly, the fashions in tourism are developed through publicity; but here the real conditions of the holiday and the consumer's reaction also make their mark. The publicity is not simply packaged. Without doubt, as Mc Luhan (1964, 1967) suggests, it plays a part in orienting the tourist's awareness and structuring his experience. Nevertheless, it must be continually adapted to anticipate the mood and reactions of the consumers. As new destinations appear others disappear; as desires change so do the tour operators' slogans and propaganda. The publicity follows a certain logic in this respect; through the choice available to the consumer, a kind of dialogue is struck up. The consumers' response to the tour operators' "questions" (publicity material), in most cases, is in keeping with the dream and the performance.

Before leaving, the tourists examine the publicity, they dream their holiday; after they have made their journey, and thanks to the photographs they have brought back, they continue to dream in the hope of another trip. From one year to the next their wants and dreams are transformed according to the offers they receive.

However, because tourists do not stay long on holiday they do not have the means to discover for themselves anything other than what the organisation has prearranged. There we find the idea of a fictitious landscape, a cover-up (Boorstin 1963 talks of "pseudo-events"), of a staged-event already guaranteed in the publicity. Besides, the travel brochure is not pure fiction. In one sense, it does not lie: all that is promised corresponds to the reality in a certain way. At best, one finds some exaggerations, misleading statements, lies to mobilise the consumers' associations. Beyond what is true and what is false, the publicity provides a certain way of understanding the reality: it gives the "tourist view". And in many cases, unfortunately, the reality comes to resemble the brochure.

Tourism: the Motive for Development?

It is not uncommon to hear it said that tourism aids development in Third World

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countries. It is a fact that tourists bring foreign currency; this influx helps in the often deficient balance of payments. Moreover, the money brought by the tourists should profit the receiving country. But the inflow of foreign currency is only a delusion.

Sources of Foreign Currency

In order to deal with this question, several authors look at the money which enters the country and which is sold, over a determined period, a year for example. It can be seen that part of the money the tourist spends does not leave its country of origin: it goes through the receipts of the travel agents and transport companies. Furthermore, a good part of the foreign currency brought to the visited country leaves it again in the form of necessary outlay: the import of goods to meet the needs of the tourists, maintenance of equipment, interest paid on foreign capital or interest on national debts. In order to attract tourists, the Third World countries find themselves obliged to invest in hotel construction, to carry out promotion in foreign countries, and in this way more of the foreign currency is lost. A lack of their own resources, local technology, oil... only aggravate the phenomenon. In all, 10 to 30% remains in the country, and this generally contributes to accentuating the inequalities, ignoring the poor and enriching the better-off.

Some people talk of the multiplying factor of tourism. It is estimated that the money the tourist spends in a country passes from hand to hand due to the effect of investment (the construction of hotels keeps the local companies going), the wages, the consumption, etc. creating wealth over and beyond the hotel which accommodates the tourists.

Meanwhile, economists' calculations have shown that this multiplication effect depends on the structure of the national economy. In rich countries, the economy is homogeneous, tight-knit and varied. Money circulates quickly. On the other hand, the economies of poor countries are neither diversified nor homogeneous (the different sectors lack cohesion), and money does not circulate well. In evaluating the effects of tourism investment and the wealth generated within a country, one can see that the total amount is less than that spent in the same period in order to attract and cater for the tourists. We can say here, therefore, that the rate of the multiplication of wealth is less than one. The relevance of statistics evidently depends on how they have been calculated, and this in turn depends on the point that is being made. But, in all events, one must not delude oneself about the "providence" of tourism: after the tourism beanfeast, the leftovers are very meagre for some countries.

The "Cultural Encounter"

Those who support tourism say that the trips are very enriching in cultural terms: they help a better understanding between peoples and cultures. Who believes this? As holidays are an important part of their budget, tourists want "to get something for their money"; they want to have an interesting time and to lose themselves. They will get what they expect, a setting will be created and a performance given; they will see something of the "natives". On their return home they will doubtless feel they have discovered a reality of which they were previously unaware. But they will only have seen what they were intended to see and nothing of the real life of the people. Thanks to the photographs, they will be able to tell their friends that they "know" the country; meanwhile they have no idea of the implications of their trip on the country's economic and social life.

Yagua Indian posing for tourists (tourist postcard).

They have made contact, received hospitality, but often the encounters have only reinforced their prejudices to one extent or another.

Some people once told me about a trip they had just made to South Africa; one of them said: "I have travelled around the country and really there are no problems there. All the stories of "apartheid" are media inventions." It transpired that these travellers had followed such carefully chosen routes that they had in fact seen a prosperous country and nothing of the problems facing the black population.

I have accompanied tourists to Morocco (part of this trip is recounted in my book "Tourism and the Third World: a white marriage") and during our stay there were union demonstrations in the streets including some deaths. My companions knew nothing of it because they did not read the newspapers. It did not interest them at all, this was not what they came for!

Palace Residents

Tourists want to lose themselves, certainly, but they have no intention of running any serious risks and therefore avoid troublesome situations. They don't have to justify their presence to anyone or feel handicapped by being a foreigner; the organisation is responsible for solving all problems. The culture of the superfluous reigns supreme in the hotel and though often the rest of the country lives in poverty, the tourist patronises the most confident of the native people, those who benefit from their proximity to the tourists (hotel personnel, guides, souvenir salespersons, prostitutes).

Misery and Prostitution

After the "Manila Pavements" affair, the world has become aware of the extent of prostitution due to tourism, and, in particular, organised child prostitution. Sexual tourism is certainly not new, but up until now it has been carried out discretely: today it is better organised and appears in only lightly veiled terms in the publicity. Some industrial firms in Japan, in recognition of the good services of their employees, offer them weekends in Manila at regular periods; everything is organised including uninhibited hostesses. In the same way, some European companies pay for trips to Bangkok for their male personnel.

We will return later to the theme of child exploitation in South East Asia and the possible remedies: the mobilization of associations and pressure groups. But with regard to the more spontaneous, classical prostitution, an investigation in Kenya has revealed that these girls support their whole family and many find life easy and agreeable with Whites who pay well. But what prospects do they have of getting out? With high unemployment where would they find other work? Return to their village and till the land? What I want to emphasise here

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is that prostitution increases in places where people cannot escape from misery (overpopulated cities, nonexistent incomes) whilst tourists have their pockets full of money.

Here, as anywhere else, we can see that it is useless to attack a particular problem without looking at it in connection with North-South economics and politics. Certainly, the whole set-up will only develop if changes are made in concrete; coordinated and complementary action must be undertaken and established within the much larger context of development.

The Hand Outstretched... for begging

While tourists have the chance to set out to discover other cultures, this is not reciprocal; the majority of the inhabitants of the Third World will never travel abroad because of lack of means. What understanding of western culture do they get from visiting tourists? What they see are the super-rich, people who spend money like water, who may not even have lifted a finger to earn it. How can one not admire or be jealous of such a position?

As for tourists, with the power the position confers they easily assume arrogant or paternalistic attitudes to which the inhabitants either stretch out a hand or rebel. The extent of the beggary at most of the tourist resorts is well known. So, where is the real human contact? Where is the enrichment from the contact with others.

We must destroy the myth of "tourism's dialogue between cultures" for the simple reason, among others, that the trips are too short; no doubt the occasional word is exchanged and some glances, and then what? As long as there is a certain economic and cultural disparity between the participants, the human encounter will be distorted from the start.

Vanishing Cultures

Rather than talk of cultural encounter, it would be more appropriate to talk of the impact of the West on local culture. The hotel business is converted into a bastion of western values because a whole world is centred around it. The hotel acts as a catalyst by providing a lottery of ideological categories, principles of sociability, hierarchical rules and values which penetrate the country and destructuralise indigenous identity; here we see a new form of colonisation.

In this way a tourist sub-culture creates a more or less standard material culture, rules of behaviour and special codes and rituals which are completely divorced from the reality of daily life.

Whether we like it or not, for the inhabitants of the poor parts of the world, tourism appears as a transforming force which reproduces an imported model

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everywhere, though adapted to local conditions in certain aspects. Even if the number of visitors is relatively small, the cultural identity of the population it encompasses becomes affected. Some people see this as progress, in the sense of modernisation; from this point of view there are some things which develop. However, rapid social and cultural transformation is often traumatic and a people can feel themselves profoundly threatened. It is for this reason that I consider tourism in its present form inauspicious for the Third World.

Tourism "Renews" Itself

Up until now we have looked at "classic" tourism, that of the beaches and the grand hotels; but in order to respond to new demands, modern life gives rise to new forms of tourism every day. Consequently our contemporaries want to leave the beaten tracks and cover more inaccessible and little known regions. They are satisfied with meagre comforts and want the thrill of adventure. Some prefer walking - what's known as "trekking", the "gentle" form of tourism; the trekkers are persuaded that their trip does not alter the countryside at all but even here evidence shows that there is a culture clash and customs and practices are disrupted.

What can we say of the more scandalous forms of tourism such as the Paris-Dacar Rally which takes place every year and provides indirect publicity for tourism? It certainly does not lack a following either in Africa or in Europe, because in this exploit man measures himself against the desert. But through the media the public are beginning to see the problems the passage of this ruinous caravan poses to the starving Saharan populations. As if in a dreamworld these motor rally heroes flaunt equipment which is worth thousands of dollars before the perplexed gaze of the populations in the same way as the pashas of the colonial period. But the awakening could be bitter when the villagers want to hang a driver for running over one of their children or when an unexpected ransom is demanded on crossing a border.

It could perhaps be said that I am painting very black picture and focusing only on the negative aspects of tourism in the countries of the South. I believe that we have to throw light on this aspect of the reality before going further. This encounter between "whites" and "peoples of colour" has certainly got off on a bad footing. But is the solution to leave things as they stand and speak no more of it? On the contrary, should we not take our experience into account and renew the dialogue along more healthy lines? This is what we have to took at now.

What is to be done?

This is apparently a question without solution. Tourism forms part of a more general framework of unequal North-South relations and it seems that in order to change one element in the system, one has to first, and at the same time, change the whole. In fact, the corollary of this is also true and to commit oneself to modifying the relationships of tourism also means to apply pressure for a transformation of the whole system. The result of such a task naturally depends on numerous factors but I have suggested a holistic approach here in order to break with the tradition that consists of hiding behind the enormity of the forces at work. These do not stop me from considering parallel and complimentary changes between tourism and other spheres of activity.

The relation of forces is very unequal and the number of points of attack seem limited. I believe there are four principal strategies:

1. to influence those responsible: local governments, tourism-related businesses, tour operators (essentially through non-governmental agencies);

2. to influence oneself (as a tourist) and one's circle of contacts to promote a tourism which is more respectful of the Other and Nature (with reference to the different forms of so-called alternative tourism);

3. to try to improve one's own conditions of life at the levels of street, district, neighbours, region, etc.;

4. to speak out against the most blatant scandals such as child prostitution, forced relocation of people (caused by the construction of certain hotel complexes), monopolies over water in places where it is scarce, direct or indirect genocide (this latter particularly concerns cultural minorities).

Furthermore, a number of Third World governments have taken measures to restrict access to tourist areas. Some ethnic groups are kept away from tourists. And in fact these restrictions, this type of reservation, have generally been for the good. However, these acts were not done to hold back the tide of tourism or even to control its effects more concretely and immediately. The long term strategy ought to be: to change both tourism and the tourist. In the short term however, the present measures seem to have all been superceded by the events. Cultural minorities are among the first victims in these clashes.

Tourism and the Problems of Cultural Minorities

We will try to look in more detail at what is understood by cultural minority. But first and foremost we can to put forward some hypotheses about the impact of tourism on these populations.

1. The destruction of culture, social structure, the economic base and the

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surrounding environment which frequently accompanies the development of tourism in the Third World is generally more acute for cultural minorities.

2. Exoticism and its diverse implications (the sale of the countryside, of folklore, women, objects) could not be what it is, both relations of power and a consumption force, without having peoples who are barely industrialised, poor economically-speaking, often weak and vulnerable and at the disposal of those in power.

3. For cultural minorities, the chances for survival in the face of the harmful effects of tourism do not rest in a policy of burying their heads in the sand (flight or indiscriminate reprisals) but through strategically and often paradoxically chosen alliances and processes of resistance.

Let us now look closer at these points.

The Concept of Cultural Minorities

"Cultural minority" is a practical concept which gives a simple label to a particular context: the unequal struggle between powerful political, economic, social and cultural forces of transformation and the peoples who experience them. "Cultural minority" is a political concept. In order to understand how it is used we shall make a provisional analysis.

Minority is a term which could be applied quantitively to many peoples in the world. The French speaking Swiss, the North African immigrants in France, the Chicanos in the United States or the Copts in Egypt are minorities. However, number is not the only criterion. Some Indian "minorities" (such as in Peru) consist of tens of millions of individuals who numerically constitute a majority population. In politics, everyone knows that the Whites of South Africa are a minority in terms of number but not in terms of power. A minority, therefore, consists of a statistical factor based on a determining characteristic (religion or ethnicity for example) which is essentially an unequal relationship.

On the cultural level, the concept of minority is complicated. In many African States, for example, it is often difficult to say who constitutes a minority in relation to a majority. "Cultural minority" encompasses and mixes a little of several notions: subordination to the forces of the State, marginalisation from industrial development and political weakness, but the concept of "non-industrial tradition" is the factor most frequently accepted.

But there are other factors to consider. An official of an organisation involved with cultural minorities has suggested that I take the tribal world as my

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criterion. But for the ethnologist the term "tribe" is being increasingly avoided. Its limits and the confusion which generally accompanies it have been well demonstrated. Alternatively we could consider cultural minorities as only a few chosen groups who are known to be threatened with total extinction. But this overlooks the fact that there have always been ethnic groups disappearing, or being subsumed within other social groups. The Falis of North Cameroon, for example, are becoming less numerous and increasingly abandoning their hills to live in nuclear groups (which is a rupture with their tradition of the extended family) along the big Garoua-Maroua road. Given the pace of this emigration, there will be no more Falis left in fifteen years time – their children will have another identity. They will no longer be a cultural minority according to the criteria we are considering.

In this document, "cultural minority" refers to a working hypothesis concerning the political and cultural positions of some ethnic groups who suffer particularly abominable pressure from tourism. Their situation ought to be made known and analysed. In an analysis of cultural minorities, we should take into account ethnic groups (or even populations whose ethnicity is not strictly definable) who appear to be doubly marginalised: on the one hand, in relation to a centralised state power and on the other, in relation to other dominant cultures. But these powers can control communication to and from the mass populations and also the decisional and infrastructural dimensions of economic development (or what remains of it).

All the papers in this document describe peoples who legitimately feel "cultural minorities" and who suffer from pressure, unfavourable treatment, or even more damaging attacks on their cultural or physical integrity. Some of the papers deal with ethnic groups which, within the question of "cultural minority", are "classic" (Amazonian populations, Northwest American Indians, the Maasai etc.). Others are concerned with groups which are less clear-cut examples (at least ethnologically), such as the Tamils of Sri Lanka or Indonesian minorities. The exploitation of the exotic, genocide (the Tamils in Sri Lanka), as well as political and economic marginalisation always involves a strong minority and cultural component.

The economic, technical and cultural marginalisation of tourism exposes cultural minorities to discontinuity, disturbance, divergence, even disintegration, and usually to a dangerous dependency. These people are not even recognised as having a rich and vital identity of their own. They often function as objects of consumption, appropriation and manipulation. In talking of a cultural minority we are not dealing with a question of definition but with a certain type of focus on reality – a challenge to those relations of dominance which are capable of bringing about ethnocide itself.

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The Seri Indians of Northwest Mexico

The Seris live in two villages on the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, between Bahía Kino and Puerto Libertad opposite Tiburón island. They are a people who have been murdered throughout history and are the last remaining indigenous groups which have refused to yield to state imperatives and Mexican capitalism. They lived by hunting, gathering and fishing in a hostile desert environment where they have had to retreat under the pressure of successive enemies. Before the 2nd World War they still numbered 40,000. At the end of the 1950s, after a terrible repression, there were no more than 120. Today, protected and supported by the new Mexican indigenist policy, they number 600. The government has offered them an effective infrastructure including housing materials and relatively modern fishing equipment.

Taking account of all that has happened to them, the Seris have come out of it quite well. The women sell pearl necklaces and small animal sculptures of polished "palofierro" (a very hard wood) to passing tourists, principally North Americans. But the vendors are not just anyone. The youngest learn their trade together with the old people, the survivors of a few dozen Seri women who escaped death in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. They are rather unapproachable and have a very aggressive attitude towards all foreigners (including Mexicans). And with good reason! Their approach to tourists is quite clear: "Do you want to buy our necklaces and statuettes?", then "Buy our necklaces and statuettes!", and finally "If you don't buy our necklaces and statuettes, then go away!". Their strategy makes no concessions for the ways of the client and it is systematic. The Seris are not meek.

This control, this pressure on the tourist, although appropriate, is closely linked to their history and the small size of their ethnic group. It is quite possible to gain access to the villages which, in contrast to some of the Indian villages of Southwest U.S.A., are not hermetically sealed to tourists. Seri tactics towards tourists is not a case of "chasing away the hen that lays golden eggs", but of stripping it bare. Seri women's aggression is sufficiently impressionable that the American tourists who ordinarily frequent these places (2), usually give in and buy. The strength of the relationship is reflected in the prices: compared with those sold by Indians in other parts of the country, the necklaces and statuettes are quite expensive, even after bargaining.

This situation is only possible because the Mexican government is now behind the Seris. The men have fishing boats and are relatively self-sufficient and the women are able to deal with tourists on their own terms. Even though the prejudices and superiority of most Mexicans towards Indians has improved in recent years, indigenous minorities in Mexico have suffered a lot throughout his-

tory. Those who have kept themselves alert to exploitation, such as the Seris, are much better equipped to approach tourism than the vast majority of the country's Indians. Thus, the intellectual and political elite of Mexico, under the pretext of wanting to save a cultural heritage coupled with their feeling of guilt with respect to the Indians who have survived, have provided, for once, a favourable outlet for their concerns by supporting the Seris. Although a bit late, it is to the advantage of the dozens of Seris who have survived.

The history of the Seris has been chosen here, not just to add a another case study to those already presented in this document (these sort of examples are already numerous enough), but to illustrate the main objective of the document. The Seris enjoy certain returns from tourism which, seen from a more global perspective, threaten them with an intolerable cultural and economic change. The women, for example, are able to earn more than the men. This new method of subsistence is certainly not bad in itself, but ought to be assimilated by the ethnic group. The young people feel the overwhelming seduction of the outside and have to make the choice, as many other Mexicans (Indians as well as non-Indians) between their world and its cohesion on the one hand, and exile, transformation and perhaps community disintegration on the other. At present, due to their paradoxically privileged position (thanks to state support), they have deliberately chosen a policy of controlled tourism.

This "choice" poses its own problem for all ethnic groups which find themselves in a position to plan a survival strategy. Many peoples give the impression of not having worked one out yet. Mexico provides no shortage of examples of the destructive effects of tourism; there is the celebrated case of the Tarahumara of the Sierra Madre. Although they have a lively tradition, completely different from Mexican culture, these indigenous people are seriously threatened. Hunger, administrative molestation, schooling and tourism will certainly bring about their end. The Tarahumara in the year 2000 will, to a certain extent, be another ethnic entity to that which it is now. It will be distinguishable from Mexican society only as a relic of folklore.

The Seri and the Tarahumara illustrate the diversity of contexts and strategies with which the peoples themselves confront tourism and emphasise how, in relation to the nation state, they are culturally and politically peripheral.

Beyond ambivalence and complexity: a possible framework.

As we have seen, our appreciation of this state of affairs ought to be related to specific examples and possible strategies. This also means that the problem of cultural minorities cannot be divorced from the role played by the State, which is both the actor and the transmitter of a process of domination. Moreover any

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solution cannot be separated from the role played by certain exterior forces, such as the political pressure which can be mobilised in rich countries or from international support organisations.

At the centre of a general framework of adverse development and/or conflict, tourism exercises a series of pressures on cultural minorities to transform themselves. These peoples offer, if you believe the tourist publicity, attractions which in fact define different types of tourism. Into the very double-edged marginalisation of culture and political economy, and therefore extreme vulnerability, experienced by cultural minorities, we can now add the problem of tourism's stereotypes.

Bawomataluo, Nias, Indonesia (photo: A. Viaro)

Tourism motivates individuals by means of organised seduction, that is to say, it is commercially systemised. This seduction is organised around an object (cultural minorities) a subject (tour operators) and, to a lesser extent, the tourists themselves. Moreover, the excuse for this is always in line with the principle myths of tourism: the bringing of investment (tourism = development) and intercultural exchange (tourism = mutual understanding). This false reality creates favourable conditions for a profound cultural transformation in those populations affected by tourism and for cultural minorities where this aspect of the process is even more destructive than usual. The signs of the seduction are more hypocritical, false and disruptive than ever. Cultural minorities submit to a pressure which makes them feel obliged to conform, given that they must make their own image into something tourism can use, or else disappear. So, whether cul-

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tural minorities co-operate with this scene-setting or not, in the long run what is at stake in this framework is the disappearance of ethnic identity.

What are the principle motives behind this organised seduction?

Everything stems from the presupposition that cultural minorities represent an earlier stage of humanity to those of the industrial West, and therefore are closer than us to the origins of mankind and, above all, to nature. The pastoralists of East Africa (such as the Maasai for example), Amazon societies or the peoples of New Guinea, to mention but a few, sustain this kind of stereotype, in the same way as certain types of geographical environment do, such as mountains, deserts and rainforests. In manufacturing the symbols of tourist seduction other notions of what constitutes Nature or Origins, such as exoticism and the image of the Indian, have been used. Having said this, one must not imagine that tourism invented these notions and images. On the contrary, tourism has done no more than take over and exaggerate already existing images (myths) which are taken for granted.

These images are integrated and systematised into representatives of the "Other" and the "Difference", which Western society has developed around numerous "distant" societies. Treating cultural minorities according to these symbols and stereotypes, constitutes one of the hubs of our problem. Even if exoticism and the state of "closer to nature", which the tourist is looking for, are delusions with no basis in the reality of the host peoples, the financial investment means and the structural power of tourism is more than sufficient to create another world. In spite of everything, tourists, misinformed and tactless to boot, find the images and sensations they are looking for and see nothing more than what they want to see (and what they are allowed to see).

The notion of "different" illuminates this problem, particularly that paradox of tourism, the "adventurer" or "hiker"; these tourists have the tendency to feel that they are different and have less harmful effects than mass tourism. The Westerners who visit the high valleys of Nepal or the retreating oases of Nigeria are looking for the unknown and the novel in the countries themselves, but also in the way of life. They find attractive values and seductive images in the villages visited ("authenticity", a shared life, rich social life, beauty, etc.). But contact with tourism, even individual tourists, changes the way of life that is being admired and introduces unforeseen and shocking elements into this beautiful picture. In the same way, tourists visiting such and such an oasis or Nepalese village become indignant at seeing plastic pails and transistors and deplore the loss of "authenticity". In reality, they are indignant about a transformation for which they are, though certainly not always consciously, some of the main agents.

The mountains and the desert are converted into the last frontiers of

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tourism. The Andes, the Sahara and, above all, the Himalayan regions have suffered for many years from an increasingly strong tide of tourism, of which trekking is the principle form. "Trekkers", in search of invigorating and impressive landscapes, like those who search for spirituality and "real" contacts, pay no heed to the effects of their presence, of which the most visible are deforestation and the accumulation of rubbish in camping areas.

Nepal offers an interesting example of the complexity of the effect of tourism. In fact, as Baumgartner et al. (1987) has shown, trekking involves different ethnic peoples grouped hierarchically (the porters are, for example, from a lower social order than certain Sherpa groups who have more important positions in the organisation of treks). Some earn more than others and in different ways thanks to tourism, they feel its effects to a greater or lesser degree, and have completely different images of tourists and understanding of the tourism process.

This example illustrates the fact that tourism is present in different and sometimes complex socio-cultural contexts where the members are able to, and know how to, take their unequal share according to their position within the regional and national society.

However, there are still a number of comparable instances where ethnic groups have not yet been hemmed in and begun to disintegrate and where there is still some hope of exploiting as much as possible from the tourism. Zanskar is in fact a good example, as is the Sherpa community of Rolwaling studied by Janice Sacherer (1981) and the well known Hunza. This population lives in a valley in the far north of Pakistan, on the border with China. It formed an independent kingdom and has recently been annexed by Pakistan. The new and famous Karakoram Highway runs through it and more and more trekkers are arriving there. Its "original" identity makes it attractive and for this reason there are attempts to preserve it and stop the pressures of acculturisation from Pakistan. For the Hunza, it is perhaps a question of not being devalued once again, but of using tourism against the central power.

All that we have looked at so far brings us to the main point of this book, the question of the margin of control and the strategies at the disposal of certain cultural minorities faced with tourism. Tourists can be used as allies, be it directly through their economic input or through the information they bring with them from the West. In some cases, external political pressure by governments or non-governmental organisations, can change the cards.

But we are not euphoric. The situation of cultural minorities does not warrant this. However, we can review the complexity of the conditions in which they find themselves and evaluate the chances they have left, not according to a max-

im of "no changes at all costs", but through the margin of control that really exists for them and the strategies that they can develop.

The contact certain Ifugao villages in the Philippines have with tourists puts them "on the front line" or on the tourist "frontier". But without doubt this "sacrifice" allows numerous other peoples to be left as tourist reserves in the hinterland. We could cite numerous examples of this occurrence. To be a cultural minority is not just a moral question, it is a practical question which demands concrete action. Coca Cola's penetration into the most inaccessible places on the globe has had dire consequences because of the cultural transformations it implies. But it is not the end of an ethnic group if they begin to drink Coca Cola instead of their traditional drink. The consequences depend on many factors and processes of resistance and cultural re-shaping can spring up in surprising ways (3). Therefore, tourism is like Coca Cola: it is not a plague in itself, but if it is not handled carefully it can bring about irremediable damage. Moreover, we have not forgotten that the Coca Cola metaphor can also signify a cultural danger in the long term, an intense cultural conflict in the short term and even, in some cases, a more violent threat such as the spread of epidemics (by the tourists) or alcoholism (to indigenous people).

The paper has taken into account an historical and geographical framework, relations with the state, technological and economic development, scope for manoeuvre and possible strategies of resistance, and above all types of tourist attraction. It should now be possible to read the different articles in the document and keep hold of these guiding threads over and above the heterogeneity of the approaches (different disciplines), the contexts (very different economic, social and political situations) and the geographical locations of the cultural minorities considered.

Notes

1. This concept goes beyond any strictly spatial or geographical application; i.e. peripheries may be urban (for more detail see Rossel 1984:68).
2. One can only pass through; it is impossible for the tourist to stay there!
3. In the same way, the ritual domain, just as the technical domain, often makes way for the unforeseen recycling of phenomena.

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A Look Behind the Tourism Facade: Some Considerations on the Development of Tourism in the Province of Ifugao (Philippines)

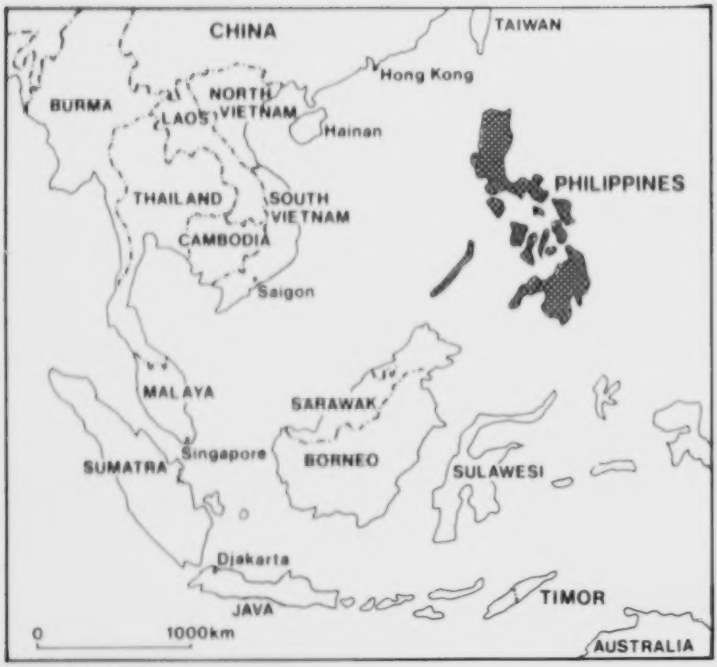
By Marc-Olivier Gonseth (1)

Guides

From a glance at the tourist literature on South East Asia it is clear that the majority of brochures include some text and pictures on the "ancient terraces" (2), the "proud Ifugao warriors", ancient head-hunters (the qualifying "ancient" is sometimes forgotten) and the people growing rice on almost impossible slopes. It does not matter that the proud warrior posing for a peso two steps from the Banaue scenic vantage point is an old woman with a wrinkled face or an old man crippled with rheumatism. What is important is to conjure up an image of a war-like savage in a fantastic countryside, an image spectacular enough to catch the interest of the amateur in exoticism. Whether this is cheating or not, the image has the desired effect and the enticed traveller is offered a tour which features a one or two day stop in Banaue. This is time enough for the images to be indelibly printed in the mind and on rolls of film, along with the corollary (Coca Cola adverts, souvenir shops, etc.) to which one can always turn a blind eye, therefore reproducing the first cliche.

First Contact

But we must not jump ahead. I was only two steps from the airport in Manila when I met a group of Ifugao for the first time. They were visiting the "Nayong Filipino", a type of entertainment park or open air museum which gives a glimpse of both the architecture and artisan work of the different regions of the country. In the park some Ifugao women sat weaving in the area containing a copy of an Ifugao house. They lived there permanently at the "service" of the passing tourists and their cameras. Close by was a stall selling artisan goods, the majority of which came from their native area and some manufactured on the spot. I understood that the people living there were of the poorest social category



The Philippines and South East Asia (Jørgen Ulrich).

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Map showing the Cordillera Region of the Philippines (Jurgen Ulrich).

in Ifugao society (3) and that they had come to Manila in the hope of finding better living conditions. I was left with the awful impression that the relationship between tourists and the societies they visit was a caricature which resembled more a "human zoo" than one with any opportunity for cultural confrontation.

Second Contact

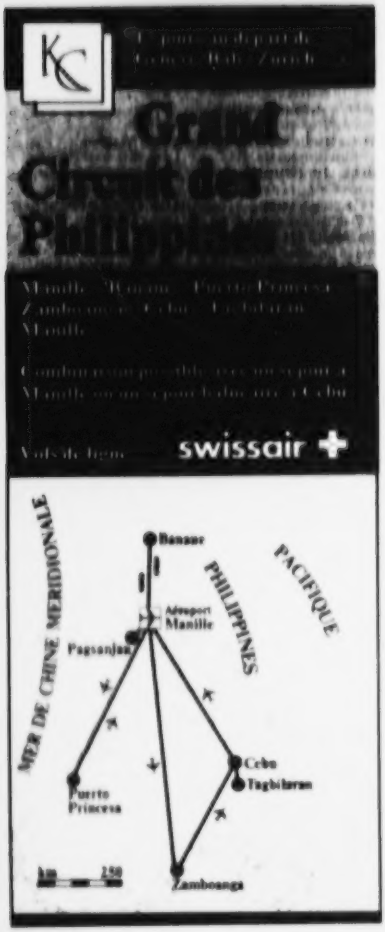
In Manila, through the head of the commercial society responsible for sending the objects that I was in charge of collecting, I had an interview with an Ifugao representative. In contrast to those in the park he came from the other end of the social scale – a minister no less. He was Ifugao through one of his parents and said he would give me a few minutes of his time. He agreed that I should go on his behalf and see the Mayor of Banaue who, he said, could arrange things for me there. This network of contacts, of which he was part, intervened on two later occasions.

En route to Banaue I stopped in Baguio, a city situated "at the gateway to the mountains". Through contact with a lecturer in anthropology, I took part in a short field-work which consisted of evaluating the economic consequences of the expropriation and relocation of some forty Ibaloi families. The reason for this state intervention is to allow the construction of a golf course on the outskirts of the city for the use of the many tourists, especially American and Philippine, who enjoy the region's temperate climate. (4)

In the surrounding mountains, dominated by the "Marcos Highway" and the golf course construction, a gigantic bust of the (then) President was being erected (5) emphasising the impression of prestige that those involved in the construction attached to the area.

In the neighbouring hills we came across an almost abandoned villa set apart from some houses belonging to the golf course construction workers. Built with the purpose of housing the relocated population, the majority of the abandoned houses had fallen into ruin. The failure of the attempt at rehousing is relatively easy to understand, firstly because of the poor quality of the building materials (principally bamboo) when the houses of the region are traditionally built in hard wood; secondly the houses were built on posts in an area where the population usually build their houses directly on the ground; moreover the houses were grouped together, when traditionally they are dispersed; the crowning glory was that the replacement village was located in a zone of erosion.

The majority of the expropriated families had left the place. Nevertheless, some hundred metres from the abandoned village we found members of two fa-



D'un point culminant à l'autre!

Au cours de ce voyage, vous verrez tout ce que les Philippines présentent d'intéressant. Ce sont en premier lieu la beauté du paysage, la luxuriance de la végétation tropicale, le mode de vie de la population locale et sa diversité. Nulle part ailleurs les gens ne sont aussi aimables que dans cet archipel, et cela avec un naturel qui vous conquiert. En dehors de Manille, les hôtels ne possèdent pas toujours un niveau occidental, mais ils sont cependant propres et bien dirigés.

Grosse Philippinen-Rundreise

Reisedaten

Tour 1	16. März – 1. April
Tour 2	30. März – 15. April

Das Land auf einen Blick:
Bevölkerung:
etwa 50 Millionen
Hauptstadt: Manila
Sprachen:
Philippinisch, die meisten Leute sprechen gut Englisch

Philippine tourist programmes (extracts from tour brochures).

milies which had remained and who gave us some indication of the change in their lifestyles.

The first family had possessed 2.5 hectares of land, two of which were rice paddies and 0.5 hectare was given over to cultivation of mango, haricot beans, peas, pimentos and maize. The mother, to whom we spoke, estimated their annual rice production at 7,500 pesos, more or less, and the annual crop of mangos at about 500 pesos; in 1980 they were forced to hand over their property to the Philippine Tourist Authority for the sum of 20,000 pesos, plus 1,150 pesos per tree. If they were to pay 10,000 pesos more they could buy 0.5 hectares of land lower down in the valley which made the land 7 to 8 times more expensive than the land for which they had received compensation. The new land had, moreover, a very much inferior annual yield. As a result of state intervention they had lost a life of self-sufficiency and surplus in exchange for one of economic marginalisation and defective agriculture. They have now been forced to take casual work in the very project which ruined them (park attendants, maintenance workers) with no guarantees for their future.

Another case is equally edifying: 15.5 irrigated hectares of land were bought by the Philippine Tourist Authority from a family for next to nothing in 1976. The subsequent history of the family is familiar: promises of work, expulsion in 1979, convicted by the police and threatened with attacks as a result of lodging a complaint. The man of the family is working today on the golf course for 24.34 pesos an day (about US$2.5 in 1983). (6)

In the Philippines, prestigious profit-making arises from tourism through substantial advantages given through power, and the official expropriation of lands on terms very unfavourable to the displaced people. We are dealing with a mild version of a form of exploitation well known, not only in the Philippines but abroad, especially in relation to ethnic minorities living in areas rich in raw materials (primarily wood and minerals). In the golf course case concerning us here, the Ministry of Tourism used its influence to set up a business and showed little concern for the indigenous population. Pulling strings in this way is in direct contradiction to the facade which the Ministry prepares for tourists.

What is said and what is done

Searching through Baguio for any verbal, pictorial or artisan reference to the inhabitants of the mountains, where I was heading, I discerned in the heart of the city, a few steps from my hotel, a small park containing a small wooden hut with

a cane roof set on four stone piles. It resembled a mountain house and next to this alpine scene was a plaque engraved in bronze:

> THIS MINIATURE NATIVE PARK WAS INSPIRED BY OUR BELOVED FIRST LADY AND MINISTRY OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS, MADAME IMELDA ROMUALDEZ MARCOS, WHOSE ARDENT DESIRE IS TO IMBIBE AMONG OUR PEOPLE OF THEIR LOCAL IDENTITIES AND TO TRANSLATE THIS CONSCIOUSNESS OF IDENTITY IN THEIR LOCAL PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS AND ROADSIDE BEAUTIFICATION. DESIGNED AND CONSTRUCTED BY THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC HIGHWAYS LADIES CIRCLE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PEPITA IMPERIAL AQUINO. BAGUIO CITY. APRIL 1, 1979

In spite of its serious tone the plaque said nothing striking particularly if it was intended as an attempt to draw attention to indigenous people. Its disagreeable aspect stems from a twist of sentiment. Instead of celebrating indigenous identity in itself, it deals with consecrating the vision that the authorities have made of this identity and the goals which the government has fixed for it. *(imbibe....and translate this consciousness refers to the transformation of indigenous culture on the state's terms).* Perhaps appropriately, the benches, flowers, model house and monument with the plaque are more reminiscent of a graveyard than a place conveying local identity.

I found another plaque at Baguio museum where again the architecture evokes the mountain style of housing and which is similar to the tourism office next door. This dedication was written by someone under investigation for expropriation:

> THIS MUSEUM WAS BUILT BY THE MINISTRY OF TOURISM AND THE PHILIPPINE TOURISM AUTHORITY IN COOPERATION WITH THE CITY OF BAGUIO TO ENSHRINE THE FOLKLORE, ARTS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PEOPLES OF THE MOUNTAIN PROVINCES AND DEDICATED TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES, PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS AND THE FIRST LADY IMELDA ROMUALDEZ MARCOS WHO INSPIRED THE NATION TO REMAIN FAITHFUL TO ITS UNIQUE CULTURE AND HISTORY
>
> JOSE D. ASPIRAS
> Minister of Tourism
> Chairman, Philippine Tourism Authority
>
> Luis L. Lardizabal
> Mayor
> Baguio City
>
> Col. Rodolfo Cacdac
> General Manager
> Philippine Tourism Authority

The Philippine Government and the majority of the population have manifestly different kinds of devotion to the country's culture and history. The government's position can be best expressed by the word "folklore" and it is shocking to see the how the tourism office takes up this tone so easily.

The Cordillera, Philippines (Jørgen Ulrich).

Outside the museum a relatively realistic model of an Ifugao house had been erected. Inside, on the ground floor a jumbled understanding of the Ibaloi, Ifugao, Kalinga, Bontoc, and others is presented through their material culture (alluding to the mineral wealth of the region) and mixed with a number of recently made artisan objects which were also on sale in the tourist shops. The amalgam was not explicit and the visitor acting in good faith may have given

equal significance to objects of ritual or daily use and objects which were destined for the souvenir shops in the city.

On the first floor was an exhibition entitled 'Traditional Philippine Cultures'. The poster presenting the exhibition was flanked on one side by a photo of President Marcos and on the other by a photo of his wife, as if they were representing different Philippine ethnic groups. This part of the building in fact presented the PANAMIN ethnic minority integration programme compounded into four points on a panel:

> The Office of the Presidential Assistant on National Minorities is the sole government agency with a mandate to administer the affairs of the non-Muslim hill tribes. PANAMIN became a full fledged government instrument through Presidential Decrees 719 and 1414.
>
> *Goals and Development Philosophy*
>
> PANAMIN'S major concern is to uplift the national minorities socially, politically and economically. It's objectives include the following:
>
> First To advise the President on national policies, specific government programs, and other matters affecting national minorities;
>
> Second To continuously conduct scientific researches which establish the identity, location, specific needs and problems of minority groups to provide sound bases for policy and program formulation;
>
> Third To organise and strengthen tribal councils, the forerunners of the President's barangaic society, in order to facilitate greater participation in the country's political affairs;
>
> Fourth To develop and implement socio-economic development programs geared to make cultural minorities self-reliant.

Loriot and Paganel (1981:105), editors of the guide "Philippines", Delta Edition, are blatantly prejudiced about the above organisation when they write:

> PANAMIN is the Secretariat of indigenous affairs. Its official programme is to protect minorities, permitting them to maintain their culture or giving them the means for integration in the economic and social life of the nation. Critics insinuate that PANAMIN has been more active in the second direction, in light of ethnic integration, including forced integration. They cite PANAMIN's activities in the province of the Igorot where they were the used by the National Power Corporation to remove the Bontoc and Kalinga in the valleys where they wanted to build a series of dams. The 28 Tasaday of Mindanao represent, on the contrary, PANAMIN's clear conscience and from their discovery have been the object of PANAMIN's concern and intensive studies. It is significant that PANAMIN's only work is dedicated to this ethnic group. (7)

Next I visited a park called "Imelda" in honour of the First Lady. There I found a new monument to the mountain people in the form of some huts reconstructed near to a large tourist souvenir shop. The route is punctuated by statues which evoke the savage life of the villagers referred to. Again, interspersed between exoticism and grandiloquence, is a stall with the presidential mark.

In the last park, a type of flashy flower garden called "Sunshine", I found a plaque haphazardly set by a path where the text again made the most surprising synthesis between the two contradictory movements seen earlier:

> THE SUNSHINE PARK WAS INSPIRED BY THE IDEALS OF THE NEW SOCIETY UNDER PRESIDENT FERDINAND E. MARCOS AND THE FIRST LADY MINISTER OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS IMELDA ROMUALDEZ MARCOS TO KEEP ALIVE OUR CULTURAL HERITAGE DEDICATED TO THE PEOPLE OF BAGUIO AND THE MOUNTAIN PROVINCES WHOSE HISTORY AND LORE HAVE ENRICHED THE NATION.
>
> JOSE D. ASPIRAS
> Minister of Tourism
> Chairman Philippine Tourism Authority
>
> LUIS L. LARDIZABAL
> Mayor
> Baguio City
>
> BERNARDO M. VERGARA
> General Manager
> Philippine Tourism Authority

CEFERINA E. SABADO
NACIDA REG. (Cert. No. 07382)
169 Plaza Market, Baguio City
Warehouse: No. 16 Outlook Drive
Baguio City 0201, Philippines * Tel. 69-24

BAMBOO & RATTAN CRAFTS, HAMPER, BAGS, BASKETS, ETC.

LAGMAN'S
ANTIQUES & ARTIFACTS
Wholesaler-Retailer-Importer

DEALER OF: Rare Chinese Porcelain, Brass, New & Old Baskets Old Repro, Inlaid Furnitures, Igorot Artifacts, Silver

Ernesto & Yolanda Lagman
PROPRIETOR MANAGER

DISPLAY HOUSE:
95 CAMPO FILIPINO (QUIRINO AVE.)
BEHIND ST. VINCENT CHURCH
BAGUIO CITY 50-32

MAIN STORE:
NO. 55-54 2ND FLOOR
SHOPPING CENTER MAR-BAY
BAGUIO CITY 69-70

Visiting cards from two Banaue tourist shops.

Yet again we find most of the traits already mentioned: the contradiction between "cultural heritage" and the "ideals of the New Society", the interdependence between the municipality and the office of tourism and the inclusion and "selling" of the presidential couple who have nothing at all to do with the matter.

In my last explorations before taking the mountain road I saw a number of artisan and antique shops (it is difficult to draw a clear line between the two). There I found many beautiful objects at very inflated prices which made me puzzle over the presence of museum pieces in the souvenir stalls and the presence of tourist objects in the museum.

As for the garden, my puzzle began to take shape. Thanks to the pervasive intervention of the tourism office in the shady plan of the presidency, the mountain peoples had been presented to me, even before putting a foot in their province, as worthy of respect and attention because of the commercial aspect of their material production. As for their culture, beliefs, and rites, apart from taking part in folkloric dances in the most expensive hotels and some allusions to the preservation and glorification of their identity, it was obvious that the politicians responsible felt no need to take any initiative or lead them or their region along the path to the New Society.

The Mountains and the Change

After eight hours in a bus following a sinuous and carved out route which gradually revealed the richness of the regions we had travelled through below and the slow transformations of the environment due to the altitude, I saw the first terraces for which all visitors instinctively feel a very great fascination. We then arrived at the Vantage Point which is a place with a privileged view over the terraces surrounding Banaue further below. Here people live in a relatively deprived way "thanks" to the pesos which tourism brings. What could initially be considered as positive effects of tourism (i.e. money), on closer inspection, led to impoverishment: begging, dependency and precarious living conditions. Perhaps the only positive aspect of life remaining for the people is the apparent anarchy from which the tourism evolved, and hence their relative liberty. However, I learned during my visit that a great clean up was expected in the region due to a regrouping of the businesses in the centre of Banaue; the region therefore appeared condemned to look more and more like a super specialised tourist area.

The bus dropped me off at the main square of Banaue. This consisted the town hall, some restaurants, a medium category hotel and some artisan shops laid out in a "U" shape. At the entrance to the "U", on the right hand side was a commercial centre made up of several quite large houses with thatched roofs,

erected on cement piles and imitating the local architecture. (8) The following words were written on a plaque on the building:

ON THIS SITE WILL RISE THE FUTURE
BANAUE TRADE CENTER
ANOTHER PRESTIGIOUS PROJECT OF THE
PHILIPPINE TOURISM AUTHORITY
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF
MINISTER JOSE D. ASPIRAS
GENERAL MANAGER BERNARDO M. VERGARA GEN. HAMILTON B. DIMAYA
THRU THE REPRESENTATION OF
ASSEMBLYMAN GUALBERTO B. LUMAUIG
AND THE SANGGUNIANG BAYAN OF BANAUE
HEADED BY MAYOR HEADMAN BENJAMIN CAPPLEMAN

The circle of connections now closed on my arrival in Banaue. The plaque in question presented in startling relief the name of the Minister I had met in Manila. The managers of the Philippines Tourism Authority (PTA) had heard of him even in Baguio and the Mayor of the town had considered contacting him there and then. The network circle of tourism control was completely closed. Now we must look at the type of tourism that this network tries to promote.

A society centred on rice

The Ifugao are rice cultivators and live in a mountainous region of about 900 sq.km., located between 1000 m. and 1500 m. above sea level and 17 degrees latitude north, in the Central Cordillera of the island of Luzon, the largest in the Philippine archipelago. The population is estimated at 100,000 of whom about 25,000 live outside of their original province (1970).

Most Ifugao hamlets contain between 8 and 12 houses built, where possible, close to the terraces where the people work. Rice is central to their social life, economy and rituals. It is the most highly valued staple food and requires the most labour and careful tending. The men are in charge of the management and maintenance of terraces, such as irrigation work; the women sow the nurseries, transplant and periodically weed the terraces and ditches. Rice is the basis of wealth and social status among the Ifugao; a sheaf of rice is the minimum unit and the area under cultivation the maximum unit of the traditional system of exchange. Rice is similarly at the centre of ritual life; numerous ceremonies mark the different stages in its production, transplantation and main harvesting; moreover, rice is part of all festive food and as important in the main dish as it is in beer. But it is not the only staple food. Throughout the province, it is not the main foodstuff consumed, except amongst the most wealthy. In fact, sweet potato, which is much less valued, is the staple food for more than half the

population and it is considered to be "poverty stricken" to have nothing else available to eat. The diet is complemented with garden produce, animal husbandry, fishing on the terraces and rivers, shell-fishing and fruit picking (for more on this see Conklin, 1980).

Agricultural terraces near the Banaue tourist zone (photo: Teresa Aparicio).

Kinship relations are the basis of Ifugao social organisation: genealogical memory is revitalised by the priests through ceremonies and inheritance made at the time of marriage. After marriage parents are left in the hands of the best provided for sons. (9) The Ifugao have developed a very complicated system of laws based on tradition and have not developed centralised political organisations responsible for welfare. In this context, social differentiation derives from the accumulation of wealth; this leads to the need for a particular form of redistribution through feasts which gives and maintains status for the person who organised the feast. On the other hand, the Ifugao are considered pantheists; some of their priests know about 1500 gods, and are charged and consecrated to invoke different classes of divinity through rites. Although some of the Ifugao have been converted to Christianity, mainly in the commercial zone around Banaue, the

majority still practise their own rituals which are one of the pillars of the local culture.

The situation we are faced with here is one of two different types of societies in confrontation: a rural society still profoundly influenced by its culture having conserved control of the lands it cultivates (given the high value put on the rice paddies and the manner in which they are passed on), and an urban society fascinated with the spectacular aspect of the natural environment and the ritual practices linked to it. This confrontation can be seen most clearly in the easily accessible areas as it relies on communication (a passable path) and the pedestrian circuit which we will examine later. Today the whole province is involved because of the tentacle-like penetration from the exterior.

Circular tourism

Banaue is a small agglomeration where the recent urban network is rapidly expanding. It is essentially devoted to tourists (10) and receives a non-stop flow of visitors whose tour to the Philippines includes a trip to the paddy fields of Banaue. The flow of tourists to the island or the archipelago revolves around Banaue thanks to the attentions of the local Tourist Office which offers a guide giving details of a circuit of ten recommended places. There is, in fact, something for every taste from a quick visit to the village (Tam An) which overhangs the swimming pool of the grand hotel in order to discover the smiths of Matang-Lag (11) to a visit to the terraces of Batad, recommended only for good walkers.

Few tourists wander from the organised itinerary and for many reasons. In the first place, there is usually not time to work out a personal route and to get acquainted with, and follow, the local channels. In the second place, given the language barrier, contacts depend on the goodwill or interest of intermediaries who speak English. On the other hand, the means of communication used by the rice growers are generally not practical for novices. Independent of the fact that is it almost impossible to get all the way to a village and not merely a fraction of the way using some form of transport, it is not always easy to take the steep paths or traverse the network of terraces which link the villages. The local children can do them at a run but they make most passing travellers giddy. And lastly, the mountain peoples are considered to be very independent, suspicious and even threatening towards those who come there (moreover this is the image that the tourists have been sold).

The setting up of a tourist resort in the suburbs of Banaue, a type of artificial belt where some Ifugao play the role of typical indigenous people and where the visitors play at being green explorers, constitutes a minimum of contact with the local culture for the travellers and a protective front to the expansion of

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tourism for the autochthonous people. (12) I warrant that no one is fooled by this game of mirrors and that both parties participating in the set-up tacitly agree that it is preferable for everyone to keep up appearances rather than to have to completely redefine the rules of the game.

The effect of tourism is however, not limited to the trajectory of the visitors but has also made the visited more mobile. Thus in Banaue market there is commercial confrontation which permits the sale of objects produced in the surrounding villages (weavings, wood sculptures, basketwork, birds, vegetables, etc.) and the acquisition of industrialised objects from the towns. A large percentage of the villagers who live in the region travel to town from time to time, involving a walk of many hours, in order to try to earn some money and buy some goods or merchandise that they cannot get in their *barrio*.

Reflexivity

Here socio-cultural, geo-morphological, symbolic and psychological elements apparently spontaneously limit the flow of tourism and centralise its effects.

However, it is difficult to make a categorical judgement about the present development of tourism around Banaue. It is very lamentable, of course, that the region has been disfigured, that a part of the local population have abandoned their way of life, and that the visitors are faced with apparently artificial situations. What is certain is that the process is reversible. It seems to me that it is preferable to have a localised stage setting rather than an expansive imaginary search for authenticity which will make tourism more dispersed.

This brings me to consider my own actions. Until now, I have talked of tourism as if I was situated outside it, as if I escaped its contradictions. I have considered the Office of Tourism's circuit and the holiday-makers' conformism with some skepticism while valuing my peregrinations along less welltrodden paths, my progressive insertion into the bosom of a village community and my position of privileged witness at numerous ceremonies. I have a profound *impression* of having had an authentic relationship with those people who received me, which is not the case for the majority of travellers who pass through Banaue. Nevertheless, I also am aware of the limits of this relationship, of its implications and the false impression this generalisation could engender.

During my visit I had little more than two months at my disposal, which is quite insufficient, and I did not speak the language of my hosts, an obstacle partly overcome due to the intervention of a collaborator and various informants who spoke English. I made a daily journey back and forth between Banaue, where I had a room which functioned as my place of work until I got to know

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Banaue
AMIDST THE 2,000 YE
BANAUE, IFUGAO P
TOUR
WHAT
4,000 F.T. ABOVE SEA LEVEL IDEAL SPOT FOR PHOTOGRAPH RICE TERRACES VIEW POINT SPOT-6
SPOT-4 BRONZESMITH (BA
OF MATANG-LAG
BRONZE BRACELETS, RIN
CHARMS, BASILAS,
BANGLES, ETC.
WATERFALLS
TO BAGUIO 220 KMS. 8½ HR. DRIVE
NATIONAL ROAD
BOCOS SPOT-3
BULUL RICE GOD
BAN. CATH. CHURCH
BAN. CENTRAL SCHOOL
TERRACE MARKER
GOOD NEWS CLINIC
BANAUE Y. HOSTEL
SPOT
TO LAGAWE 26 KMS.
TYPICAL IFUGAO HUT & CURIO SHOP SPOT-1
BANAUE HOTEL 3,600 FT. ABOVE SEA LEVEL
SWIMMING POOL
STEPS
TO MANILA 348 KMS. (6HR. DRIVE)

What to see in Banaue (Philippine Tourist Office map).

the people better and sometimes could stay the night in one of the villages where I worked.

I intervened as sensitively as I could into the social and economic way of life of the group which received me. Because I was making a collection of objects, including those in current use, for a section of an exhibition presenting their daily environment, I was assimilated as a merchant where I was able to use buying power. I caused some tension by wanting to search for various different artifacts. Even my attempts to thank all those who had helped me by offering them a steer, through my closest collaborator, produced certain reactions. He organised the sacrifice, the communal meal and the distribution of the meat among guests, even though the prestige was attributed only to the host. Furthermore, during my stay, I was the subject of many debates over interpretations of this and that aspect or consequence of my work. I have to conclude that my influence on the microcosm was more profound than I had foreseen. This was confirmed to me in letters I received later. I am sorry not to have had the chance to anticipate these problems earlier.

This made me realise how dangerous an "ethnologisation" of tourism could be. Time is the fundamental dimension missing in the way we see things, and one which I also lacked. Time helps to reduce the most destructive effects of the disturbance provoked by an intrusion, to the extent that it permits the two parties involved to take thorough stock of each other, to assimilate without hurriedly changing their own behaviour. Another limiting dimension is the number of potential visitors, a factor which can make a situation critical through the inequality of the relationship between the visitors and the visited. In fact, a short and fast flow of a large number of economically favourable travellers is not possible without a certain specialisation as a consequence of the flow of money and currency, and also a standardised management, although the lack of time does not permit a progressive adaption. I do not see any satisfactory alternative to tourism in Banaue which would do less damage than the present conditions.

The professionals

As I suggested earlier, we should look beyond the individual pleasure tripper (13), and take into account the activities of other professional travellers. These experience can be assimilated into a specialised tourism whose influence is as deep as that of mass tourism, or more so.

After Spain ceded the Philippine archipelago to the United States in 1898, the province of Ifugao was overrun by professionals, such as missionaries and teachers, who set themselves up at the turn of the century. At the same time an-

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thropologists, museumologists and antique and artisan dealers scoured the region in search of rare objects.

These professionals contributed in their own way to creating the material and symbolic foundations for the expansion of tourism. They took part in, notably, the modification of practices and beliefs of those people with whom they came in contact; in advertising the beauty of the region and the richness of the local culture; and in initiating the commercialisation of objects belonging to the mountain peoples with industrial goods and products.

Kalinga woman and child (photo: Joji Carino).

In spite of these changes, and thanks to the cohesion of kinship relations and the customary rights and ritual practices which articulate the social system, a large number of Ifugao today still live according to their own rules, even if they

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have assimilated at least a part of the external elements exposed to them. This is most surprising with regard to clothing – men and women often combine local cloth with imported clothes; with health care – many people combine traditional rites and modern treatments; certain converts do not renounce the "pagan" rites organised by their neighbours.

The confrontation between the local economic system and the market economy is more worrying. Monetarisation of exchange has seriously altered the cost of certain products; e.g. cattle, which must be sacrificed in many ceremonies, are today so expensive that ritual activities have diminished as a result and the risk of indebtedness under extreme pressure has seriously increased. On the other hand, the old interest shown by collectors for precious objects (china vases, gongs, idols, jewels...) has literally stripped the area. Consequently, conversion has become an economically rational act, enabling the convert to escape the obligation of holding certain very expensive ceremonies and allowing the sale at high prices of certain sacred objects whose use is no longer necessary.

As for local works of art, I met two Europeans and a Filipino (14) who were regularly involved in supplying galleries with antiquities. Similarly, I have seen many indigenous people buying in the villages and then selling their purchases in Banaue or outside the province. During my stay, many known and unknown people have introduced themselves to me in order to try to sell certain precious objects, usually idols, not understanding that I was not an antiquarian but essentially interested in the most simple and everyday objects. One further practice surprised me, paralleled no doubt to the disappearance of precious objects: many people have come to realise (of course too late) the value of antiques and have systematically manipulated the certificates of antiquity on objects obviously of recent date, and furthermore ingrained with smoke. Some people skilled in this game have had idols in their storerooms which they bought in the market and intended to sell as family heirlooms. I twice experienced this. Some families do not even have the square basket in which the daily rice is served throughout the province. Others regularly sell the baskets once they have acquired a certain patina and replace them with new ones which are less appreciated by the tourists or store them above the hearth to age them with smoke. I hope these observations serve to emphasise the importance of the apparently secondary effects of mass tourism, sometimes coming close to ethnography, but whose influence is quite clear.

In brief, all kinds of contact bring specific disruptions through the functioning of the specific project, the methods used to complete it, the personal ethics involved and of course the "response" of the area concerned. The plurality of the projects and situations encountered make all attempts to put forward valid formulae for the totality of travellers concerned doomed. To limit intercultural

contact because of the disturbances they produce is not only absurd but certainly unrealistic. Furthermore, industrial societies do not have the monopoly on the desire to change. Certain deep seated models already circulate and we are not in a situation to deplore their effects. The fundamental problem derives more from a systematic lack of control by those peoples interested in their own future. In the present case, this lack of control is balanced out by the impossibility of imposing from the outside a type of tourism which does not take certain local characteristics into account. It is also tempered by the relative cohesion of the society concerned. However, these temporary factors are constantly challenged by those people who play on the contradictions of contact and adopt new ways to adapt themselves to the current transformations, whether through supporting them or speeding them up.

Did you say "authentic"?

By following the tourist trail and the searching for a more personal route, which is only possible by stopping for a certain period in a chosen spot, I have dealt with firstly the stage managing from Manila, then Baguio, and then the mountain region itself. Those who tour without asking themselves much about the signs they pass, about their origins and their meanings, are in fact likely to reinforce the effects of the simulation prepared for them, seen as necessary for its smooth working. The message the tourism professionals want to get over consists of magnifying an "abstract presence" of people and presenting material production favourably. The architecture of the houses was obviously the symbol used most to represent the people themselves, or rather a stylised form evoking the roofs and piles which support them, in order to instill in the tourists an aura of the "traditional". This abstract sign, a vague image, is evoked from place to place by its absence, change or permanence and gives the visitor something to latch on to. All artisan production can be twisted to suit this unique symbol (all can be presented as taking a harmonious place within the symbolic house). As for the practices, these appear to be secondary, even anachronistic, as if the essence of the mountain peoples is found definitively encapsulated in the objects they build, and not in their beliefs, their rituals and daily life.

Once this idealised and materialistic vision has been accepted and each allusion faithfully reinforced (after all they are very beautiful objects), visitors can follow their prearranged itinerary without surprises. Along each stage they rediscover and reconstruct the "leitmotif" which reflects the artisan work, the traditions and the exotic and enables them to be grasped safely without much effort – at the mere cost of a pendant, an idol or a basket. Running parallel to this is the fascination of the objects possessed by tourists – the walkman or camera

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– through which opposite ideals are expressed: a rich society, a sophisticated technology, a world which is difficult to analyse other than by naive compliance or fascinated perplexity. This "cross exchange" of objects and ideals accelerates the dynamics present, reflecting the way the two societies themselves work and the latent conflicts from which they suffer.

Kalinga woman and child (photo: Joji Carino).

Parallel to this "free exchange" of objects and signs run the strategies. The Philippine Government takes an active part in the exchange through its respective imagery (New Society, Progress, Productivity, etc.). The government tries to assimilate both the virtues of the "traditional" and the "modern" and has quickly surrounded itself in the paradoxes attendant on this impossible task. In fact, it is not possible to manage the essence of these two parties at the same time without hiding one from the other, selling one through the other. This paradox is far from being exclusively Philippine. All present day societies are trying to define itself on these two planes. Only a consciousness of the problem and the way the game is played permits the selection between different strategies. It seems to me that the stage setting of indigenous life I describe here from the Philippines was distorted, the game was played along well worn tracks and the lay out obviously attuned to the props which substituted the reality.

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The line of questioning we have followed has been concerned with the impossibility of escaping this stage managing and the lesser evil of what it could represent. In fact, no trip escapes this paradoxical confrontation. Ethnology takes account of it in its own way, but travellers avoid questioning their own role in the contact situation. If there is any meaning in the word authenticity, it seems to me that it is at the level of taking into account the influence of the observer on the observed. Looked at in this way, an authentic relation could be established in a context where facts are known to be falsified and, conversely, a deceitful relation could be established in a context where authenticity seems guaranteed.

NOTES

1. The data presented in this work was collected between 1982 and 1984 within the framework of a project by the Centre for Ethnological Investigation, University of Neuchâtel for the "Alimentarium" Foundation (Museum of Alimentation, Vevey). The field work itself was carried out between the end of January and the end of March 1983. The text was revised in 1985, that is, before the end of the Marcos regime.
2. In reality, the age of the terraces is far from clearly established. The different specialists on the region contradict themselves, notably because of the lack of mention of the terraces in the renderings of stories which date from the Spanish occupation. It is more honest to say, given what we know, that the terraces are at least 300 to 400 years old, perhaps more, which confirms that they are twice millenairian (cf. Keesing, 1962:319-323; LeBar, 1975:79; Conklin, 1983:38). What I feel is symptomatic here is that this more spectacularly sanctions the hypothesis.
3. They call themselves *Inawatwat*. They do not possess rice paddies and their daily diet is based on sweet potato which they grow on communal lands. This cultivation of sweet potatoes, as opposed to the growing of rice on flooded terraces, is carried out on land that has been cleared (burned). The parcel that has been cleared, burned and planted belongs to the person who is in charge of the work in question unless it is abandoned for another parcel.
4. The town of Baguio houses, among other things, a North American army rest base (John Hay Air Station).
5. It is perhaps already destroyed due to the last overhaul. Because of this I have

tried to update my text generally although the material on which it is based was gathered before the change of government.

6. Angry with his lot, he denounced by name two high PTA officials who, by being contractors, were responsible for charging more than 380 pesos per hour for working the bulldozers. I did not get the chance to verify this.
7. It lost its good reputation with the discovery by Oswald Iten, Swiss German ethnologist who confirmed in an article in the Neue Zürcher Zeitung (12-13.4.86:77-79) that the discovery of the Tasadaay had been a complete set up for publicity by Manuel Elizalde, accountable to PANAMIN in 1971, thanks to the complicity of people locally.
8. Whereas this type of building is in the process of disappearing in Banaue, it is being replaced with houses of corrugated iron, and it has definitely disappeared from the centre of the area, precisely where the form is appearing symbolically.
9. The first born gets the best part from its mother or father, the second gets the remaining part if both parents have left an inheritance. The others divide the items that the parents had collected since their marriage. This system saves the inheritance from being dispersed and excessive parcellation of the property, but also includes family duties on the part of the privileged which tend to make the first born the centre of the family.
10. The most luxurious hotel in the area, administered directly by the Department of Tourism, was being extended during my trip. The following are comments from two tourist guides on the older part "...luxurious building a little removed from the central square and polluting the countryside with its bay windows and swimming pool built just below the village of Tam An" (Loriot and Paganel, 1981:182); "The Banaue hotel administered by the Ministry of Tourism is one of these luxury gadgets with an imposing view over terraces, solarium, heated swimming pool, heliport and entertainment every night in the form of ethnic 'films' and dances" (APE 1982:214). These type of comments criticising the luxury show in their own way the paradox of authenticity. In fact, since the scale of the tourism developed, in which the aforementioned guides play a leading role, it has reproduced the logic of social distinction of the society that bore it. In this way, the authenticity corresponds to the social practices of the different classes of traveller. Therefore it cannot be unequivocally defined, as our commentators seem to think. As for the "contamination", this is no way only attributable to the presence of the bow windows but part of the whole phenomenon.
11. This concerns the bronzesmiths as much as the blacksmiths who use the "cire perdue" (lost wax) method for the manufacture of bronze pendants. The necessary metal is available thanks to the smelting down of ancient objects,

a handful of betel nut shells (a plant originating in the East and used in the Philippines to make "buyo", *(editor's note)*, bracelets, etc.). The craftsmen are inspired by different motives, traditional or otherwise, but only sell to the tourists. Paradoxically this is destroying local objects which the indigenous people today have more and more difficulty in acquiring, and replacing them with the fabrication of objects with no local significance and targeted at the visitors.

12. I noticed that the effects of the circuit were not clearly noticed by the visitors. In fact, meeting tourists doing the same trail the opposite way, arriving some hours later or not having made exactly the same trip has the tendency to avoid the impression of flow that an immobile observer could not help but notice. From the inside, the circuit is frequently seen as a personal trip and recommended to others as such.
13. Let us briefly consider the case of ethnologists. They use the same infrastructures as tourists, though they are set up in the centre of the people they are studying (which is just the same as a small group of travellers who are not professional ethnologists). They are obviously faced with the very problematic search for identity, just as multi-faceted as other travellers, though they are generally not satisfied with the constructions and superficialities with which they are presented. Ethnologists take part almost as tourists in creating the situation which they refer to. This can initiate important transformations in the societies they encounter which they can assume or defend. Moreover, just as tourists, they have to return in order to evaluate their field experience.
14. I must note that the latter over some years, has had almost nothing interesting to buy in all the province. And that the region had been literally devalued for some years by intensive collection.

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The Maasai – Choice of East African Tourists – Admired and Ridiculed

By Philip Bachmann

"With great respect we meet the Maasai, the lords of the grassland, who as nomads occupy a particular position among the peoples of Africa. Proud and tall, with braided hair, red cloaks and spears they were once fearful warriors. They have preserved their peaceful traditions up to this day."

KUONI Tourist brochure "Distant Continents", 1985, p.44

Introduction

The programme for safaris in East Africa includes, besides the visit to the national parks with their lions, elephants, rhinoceroses and giraffes, a meeting with the "proud" Maasai. The average European tourist wants not just dramatic photos with savage animals to take home but "original" photos with the "primitive" Maasai warriors. These tastes are not just promoted by the Safari-Business but are shown clearly in the motives of the Kamba carvings in the souvenir shops in Mombasa. Together with the ubiquitous lions, giraffes and rhinoceroses are carvings of Maasai warriors painted red and black and equipped with spear and shield. The Maasai have the dubious honour of being the only people in Kenya who can be acquired by tourists in the form of wooden carvings. The tall Maasai are also the central motive of postcards and are presented as the most desirable of Kenya's 35 ethnic groups.

Why are the Maasai favourites with foreign tourists? The answer is not found in their present day reality but in the myth which was woven around them in the last century. Interest in the Maasai began in 1855 with the book by Joseph Thompson entitled "Through Masailand". In it he describes the Maasai as pure, fearless and proud warriors. And so the myth of the "noble savage" was born which was augmented throughout the colonial period with exaggerated and deprecatory stories about their promiscuity, dislike of work and alcoholism. (1)

But what is the reality behind these nomadic people? Where do they come from and how do they live today?

Geographical Distribution of the Pastoral Maasai (Kaj Århem).

A Pastoral People with a Strong Social Organisation

The Maasai are distinguished by their language (Maa), their origins (the upper reaches of the Nile), their mythology, religion, traditions and nomadic lifestyle.

They inhabit a zone stretching north to south from Nakuru (Kenya) along the length of the rift valley to Lake Manyara (Tanzania) and east to west from the plain of Kajiado/Amboseli (Kenya) to the region of Narok/Masai Mara (Kenya) and Ngorongoro (Tanzania).

In 1979 there were approximately 240,000 Maasai in Kenya and some 120,000. The Maasai in Tanzania (3 inhabitants per sq km.) have more land than those of Kenya (6-10 inhabitants per sq km.) where the density of population is greater.

According to linguistic criteria the Maasai belong to the eastern Nilotes (2), to which group the Turkana of north west Kenya and the Iteso, on the border between Kenya and Uganda, also belong. Even more closely related to the Maasai are the Samburu whose pastures lie to the north of Maasai territory, and the Njemps from Lake Baringo who speak Maa.

Today the history of the Maasai is unknown. It is supposed that up until the year 1500 they were a relatively insignificant pastoral group which inhabited the banks of Lake Turkana. During the 17th and 18th centuries they began to move south in small groups across the Kerio valley (3) until they reached central Tanzania. At the same time the Bantu speaking agriculturalists moved into the upland regions which were of no interest to the Maasai.

During the 19th century the Maasai dominated the grasslands of the Rift Valley from Kenya to Tanzania. But at the height of their power internal struggles began: wars between rival clans, fighting over rights to pasture, cattle stealing and the religious leaders', the *laibons'*, ambitions of power. (4) Mbatian, the *laibon* of the Purkos clan became chief over all the Maasai during this period.

However, his power quickly faded due to three main factors: i) the arrival of Europeans, their insatiable appetite for lands and their military superiority, ii) fighting between Mbatian's sons over his succession and iii) the rinderpest epidemic which decimated the cattle herds during the decade 1890 – 1900.

The superior military strength of the British and German colonial powers forced the Maasai to act cautiously in their disputes with white colonists. (5) Lenana, Mbatian's successor, who owed his position to the British and received a salary from the colonial administration, signed a land treaty in 1904 which drastically reduced Maasai territory and which, later after Lenana's death, led to the relocation of the Maasai in the north. Nevertheless, the Maasai retained a large part of their territory, especially in comparison with their Kikuyu neighbours who were forced to hand over nearly all their land to white colonists. The

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borders created for the different ethnic groups by the colonial administration benefited the white colonists and at the same time stopped territorial conflicts between the groups.

These borders continued to be respected even after independence (1961 for Tanzania and 1963 for Kenya) with the exception of the zones reserved for the Whites. In Kenya, the Districts of Kajiado and Narok are Maasai "reserves". (6) In Tanzania, the majority of the Maasai live in the province of Arusha. In spite of the disagreements between Tanzania and Kenya which led to the closure of the border from 1977 to 1984, the Maasai cross from one country to the other without problems.

"I hope your cattle are well". This is how the Maasai greet one another. In fact cattle play a central role in Maasai life. (7) The wealth of a family is measured in terms of how many cattle it possesses. The day revolves around the needs of the animals, that is in finding pasture and watering places. Maasai territory is semi-arid with an average annual rainfall of less than 500 mm. which best suits nomadic pastoralism. Apart from cattle they rear goats, sheep and keep donkeys as pack animals. They do not hunt wild animals and because of this Maasai territory has one of the richest faunas in Africa. (8) This was the main motive for the creation of national parks in the region. Only a few Maasai are agriculturalists (9) while the majority are stock breeders.

The Maasai still wear their traditional dress, a red tunic buttoned over the shoulder, despite threats by a Maasai Member of Parliament who swore to renounce them if his tribe did not become civilised and dress like "modern" people. The Maasai quickly returned to their tunics and the MP quickly "forgot" his promise.

Social rank plays a very important part in Maasai life. Here, we must differentiate between clans and age-groups. Life for a Maasai man is divided into different stages: childhood, warriorhood and adult life. The passage from one stage to another involves large ceremonies. These ceremonies are the basis for later membership of the same age-group.

The greatest change comes between the age of 14 and 18 years when a boy is in the *moran* or warrior age-group. Parallel to this girls are also initiated into the period of "young women". After the circumcision ceremony the new warriors do not cut their hair but tint it with ochre and decorate their bodies. As a trial of courage each boy should kill a lion with his spear, something which often creates trouble with the authorities due to laws protecting the fauna. During this "warrior period" the *morans* live together in a type of camp especially built for them called a *manyatta* away from the semi-permanent homesteads called an *enkang* where the adults and children live. The task of the *moran* is to accompany the cattle to the pasture and watering places and protect them from wild

animals and cattle thieves. In the pre-colonial period the *morans* constituted an important military force which could be mobilised at any moment and it was this that made the Maasai one of the most feared tribes in East Africa.

When a *moran* reaches 30 years (10) he is ready for the next grade. After cutting his hair and a ceremony lasting several days, he is accepted into the adult group. From this time on he may marry and his life continues peacefully in the *enkang*. An individual's influence on matters pertaining to the Maasai as whole increases with age. The woman's sphere is, as in many other places, centred around the hearth. Their activities include among other things cooking and bringing up children.

The different age-groups have little contact with each other due to the fact that there is no central political power among the Maasai. (11) Amongst the clans the *laibon* occupies a position of great power in that he is in direct contact with the god, *Engai*. In dry periods he appeals to god for rain, his knowledge of natural medicine are needed by the sick, and he ought to be consulted on every big decision. He is, of course, the central figure in all religious ceremonies.

Until now the Maasai have been very successful in preserving their traditional way of life and avoiding western influences. Together with other pastoralists they form the most conservative group in East Africa. While in recent decades their neighbours, the Bantu speakers, have radically changed their social structure and economy, the Maasai have maintained their ancient customs. This, however, means that they run the risk of becoming cut off from the development of the country and the ethnic groups which are considered more "advanced". (12)

Many Maasai recognise, however, that the problems produced by the country's changing political and economic situation cannot be solved by traditional means. While in the past they could solve the problem of overpopulation by expansion onto the territories of neighbouring peoples, today this is not viable. The increase in population leads to an increase in the herds of cattle which in turn puts pressure on the pasture which has to support them. One cow needs 1 to 2 hectares of African savanna for its survival. In Kenya, the Maasai have only 1 hectare per head of cattle and this is shared with goats and sheep. This means that the Kenyan pastures are overgrazed by 100 per cent (see Baumhoegger, 1981:118). The drought of 1960/1, when some 300,000 perished (one third of the Maasai herds), showed clearly the risks of nomadic herding based on quantity rather than quality. After this drought the Maasai began to raise cattle under controlled conditions and many accepted new ideas about pasture, veterinary care and management of water resources. As far as education is concerned, the Maasai are disadvantaged, especially compared with neighbouring peoples,

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though there has been a considerable increase in the number of Maasai schools in recent years. However very few Maasai girls go to school.

The Maasai's way of life and problems are very similar to those of other pastoral peoples of Africa. What differentiates them from the Turkuna, Rendille or Borana is their daily contact with the nation state due to their proximity to cities, such as Nairobi or Arusha, or to the heavily visited national parks of Amboseli, Masai Mara, Serengeti, Ngorongoro and Lake Manyara, all located in Maasai territory.

Later we will analyse the extent to which contact with American and European tourists influences the life of the Maasai and how the creation of the national parks affects pastoral customs. However, first we shall look at the recent development of tourism in East Africa.

Maasai men in their traditional dress (photo: Jørgen Schytte).

The Expansion of Tourism in East Africa

Prior to the 2nd World War, tourism in East Africa was almost non-existent. The only exceptions were some white hunters and a few adventurers of the Hemmingway type with a lot of money and time who explored the African countryside.

Shortly after the 2nd World War, the British colonial power created the first national parks for the protection of the fauna: Serengeti National Park in Tanzania (Tanganyika 1941) and Nairobi National Park (1946), Tsavo (1948), Mount Kenya (1949), Aberdares (1950) etc. all situated in Kenya. The largest parks were created in the semi-arid savanna, the region which is used for pasture by the pastoral peoples. Given the lack of infrastructure and the political instability (e.g. the Mau-Mau rebellion) tourism did not develop during the colonial period.

6.1

Table 1

NUMBERS OF TOURISTS IN EAST AFRICA, 1946-1966

YEAR	KENYA	TANGANYIKA (TANZANIA)	UGANDA
1946	16,100	- - - - -	- - - - -
1948	20,600	8,600	- - - - -
1950	24,100	3,700	- - - - -
1952	36,000	5,800	- - - - -
1954	33,200	6,200	- - - - -
1956	40,500	9,500	8,600
1958	41,200	7,600	10,400
1960	35,800	7,500	7,100
1962	49,900	9,300	9,000
1964	65,500	7,100	12,700
1966	106,500	13,500	11,800

Source: OUMA 1970:27

Note: Multiple entries by the same tourist are counted only once for each year.

With the beginning of charter flights from Europe to Nairobi (1965) the number of tourists rapidly increased. Between 1965 and 1972 East African tourism experienced a real boom. The number of visitors in this period increased from 147,000 to 428,000; in the same way the number of holiday makers increased (see TABLE 2).

From 1972 this development began to slow down and in spite of the great efforts by the Kenyan government, the figure of 400,000 visitors was only exceeded in 1976. From then on it has remained below 300,000 visitors per year. (13)

In Tanzania, where the tourist sector is under state control, and there is less interest taken in it, the figures for foreign visitors are significantly lower than in Kenya:

1970	70,000
1974	170,000
1977	100,000
1980	150,000

Source: RAJOTTE 1981:10

Since Amin took power in Uganda (1971) and the civil war began, tourism has practically ceased.

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Table 2

DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM IN KENYA 1964-1984

YEAR	Total visitor exits*	Total tourist exits*	Total expenditure of tourists in KL**	Total overnight stays ***in thousands)	Total overnight stays in Maasai land***
1964	120.800	- - - - -	9.400	- - - - -	- - - - -
1966	188.700	- - - - -	14.300	561	- - - - -
1968	257.100	149.200	17.300	725	42.600
1970	338.800	227.200	18.500	1.148	60.300
1972	428.400	345.000	27.300	1.717	87.200
1974	379.600	310.300	26.500	1.952	106.900
1976	424.200	337.400	41.100	2.505	132.600
1978	333.300	268.400	60.000	2.828	133.900
1980	362.600	282.100	82.500	3.420	193.500
1982	362.400	267.300	112.300	3.469	211.700
1984	358.500	277.300	152.000	3.478	243.300

Sources: Kenya: Statistical Extract (different years)
Kenya: Economic Study 1985
MIGOT-ADHOLLA/MKANGI/MBINDYO 1982:19

Notes:

* All the exits from Kenyan territory are included in the statistics, i.e. the same traveller is counted each time she leaves the country.

** 1 KP (Kenyan Pound) = 20KSH (Kenyan Shillings)
approx. exchange: 1975 1KL = 3.0 US$
1985 1KL = 1.2 US$

*** only the overnight stays of foreigners, i.e. not East African residents.

Only half of the tourists who visit East Africa go on safari, the rest spend their holiday on the shores of the Indian Ocean. Nevertheless the number of tourists who visit the national parks is significant as the following table shows.

Table 3

VISITORS TO THE KENYAN NATIONAL PARKS IN 1984

National Park	*Size (in sq.km)*	*Visitors*
Nairobi	117	128.300
Amboseli	390	135.500
Tsavo (west)		118.700
Tsavo (east)	20.821	75.800
Tago Nakuru	57	122.200
Masai Mara	1.673	109.900
Aberdare	765	47.500
Marine	236	41.900
Lake Bogoria	107	27.800
Shimba Hills	193	13.400
Mount Kenya	716	11.300
Samburu	160	7.300
Uebridge	3.170	28.200
TOTAL	*28.405*	*867.800*

Sources: Republic of Kenya Economic Studi 1985:171
MIGOT-ADHOLLA/MKANG/MRINDYO 1982: 21

Note: Approx. 12 per cent of the visitors are from East Africa.

The "typical" safari tour is geared towards the European middle classes, travelling in small groups in minibuses, visiting two or three parks and spending the night in expensive lodges on a par with a first class hotel. Lately the tourists have shown a preference for excursions of one or two days.

Big game hunting has been prohibited in Kenya since 1977 and in Tanzania it is very sporadic and expensive while in both countres safari photographs are very popular. Tourists almost never go home without a couple of photos of wild animals. The so-called "five big ones" (lions, elephants, rhinoceroses, buffalos and leopards) are most popular among tourists. Giraffes, zebras, hippopotami and crocodiles are also well photographed while the many species of antelope only attract the tourists attention because of their great number.

On their safaris the tourists continually cross Maasai pastures. What are the consequences of these encounters for the Maasai and how does it affect their daily life?

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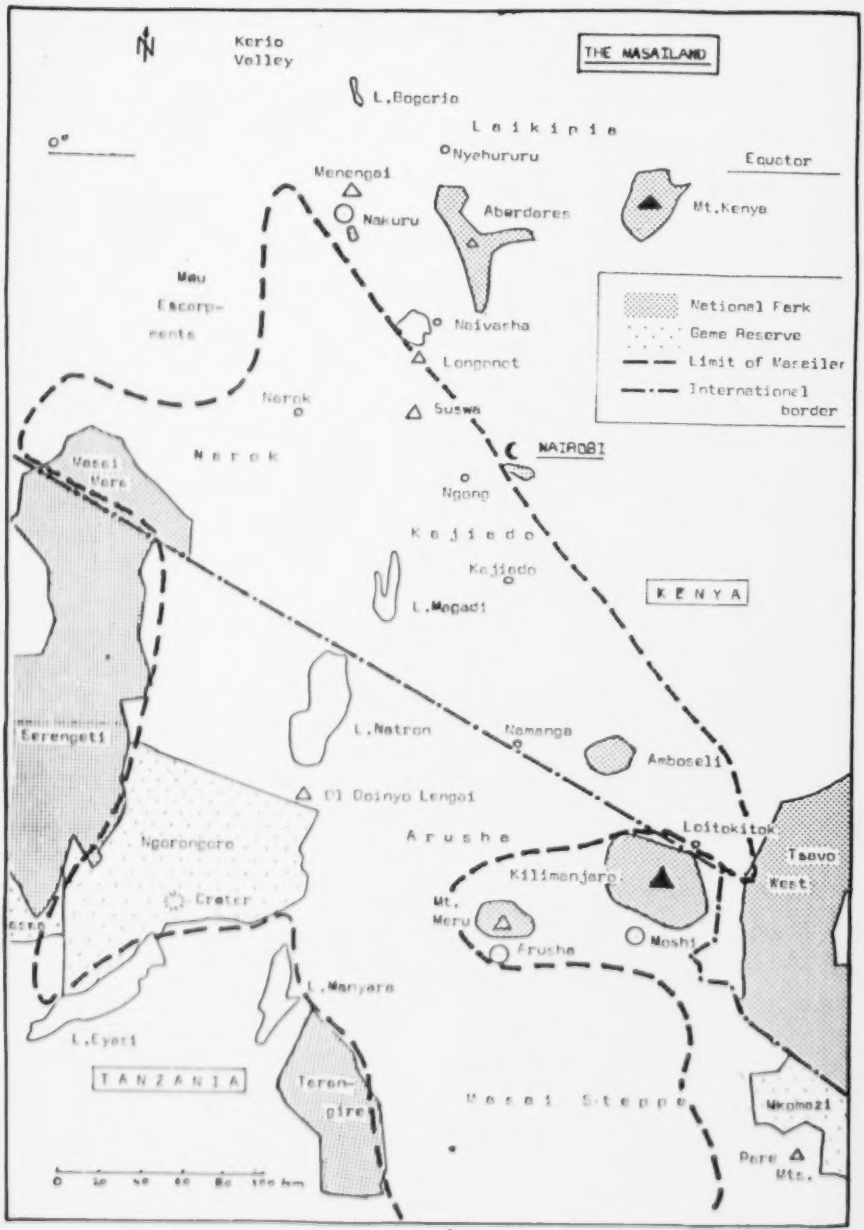
THE MASAILAND
Kerio Valley
L.Bogoria
Laikipia
Nyehururu
Equator
Menengai
Nakuru
Aberdares
Mt.Kenya
Mau Escarpments
Naivasha
Longonot
National Park
Game Reserve
Limit of Masailand
International border
Narok
Suswa
NAIROBI
Ngong
Kajiado
Kajiado
L.Magadi
KENYA
Loita Hills
Serengeti
L.Natron
Namanga
Amboseli
Ol Doinyo Lengai
Arusha
Loitokitok
Ngorongoro
Crater
Kilimanjaro
Tsavo West
Mt. Meru
Arusha
Moshi
L.Manyara
L.Eyasi
TANZANIA
Teren-gire
Masai Steppe
Nkomazi
Pare Mts.
0 20 40 60 80 100 km

Maasailand.

We shall now analyse two conflicting areas:

i) the cultural aspect - the mutual lack of understanding between the tourists and the Maasai,

ii) the ecological and economic aspect - the problem for the Maasai of the creation of the national parks on their traditional pasture.

The Mutual Lack of Understanding between the Tourists and the Maasai

The meetings between tourists and the Maasai are short, limited and the interests of both parties are very different. While the tourists are principally interested in their "exotic" photos, the Maasai focus on money and, in more distant areas, on material novelties from the Western world. The lack of time and language on the part of the tourists, in the same way as the difference in interests, means that the contacts on both sides remain at a very superficial level. It is not surprising therefore that the preconceptions of both sides are maintained. The harmful influences of tourism are found mostly in the environs of the most-visited parks where the Maasai are mere photographic objects, where the children beg and a souvenir market has been created (selling Maasai jewelry, spears, shotguns etc.) Nevertheless, and in contrast to the tourist centres on the coast, prostitution and delinquency are non-existent in Maasailand. Even though some Maasai are intent on getting a part of the tourists' wealth through legal means, they are not influenced much by their way of life. This is demonstrated convincingly by the fact that they have resisted much stronger forces of acculturation than tourism for decades, such as that of the public administration, the education system and above all the media of mass communication. This relative independence is due to their consistent social structure and their vision of reality. They do not adopt new systems blindly but make careful selections taking into account their capacity to insert them into their own socio-cultural system and their utility for the progress of their traditional way of life.

Outside of the lean income from posing for photos and the sale of souvenirs, direct contact with tourists offers few opportunities for the Maasai. Tourism has, in reality, a limited influence on the traditional culture of the Maasai, a culture which puts more emphasis on other socio-cultural values (e.g. cattle raising).

Nevertheless, there are some Maasai who live in the towns and have a modern way of life. Some of them work for tourist companies, generally as security guards, but in these cases the influence of school and methods of communication have had more importance than direct contact with tourism.

The Problem of the National Parks – a conflict between the nature protectors and the pastoralists

As long ago as 1900 the colonial government proposed a convention for the protection of the wild animals of East Africa – The East Africa Game Regulations – which in the years to follow were applied by a team of park rangers. The old German colony of Tanganyika had already reserved various areas for the creation of national parks long before the 1st World War. (14)

The ritual visit to a pseudo Maasai village (photo: Pierre Rossel).

Nevertheless, these measures never functioned properly in practice due to the fact that the interests of white hunters and colonists outweighed those of the protectionists. More recently, in the 1940s the first national parks were created in Kenya and Tanganyika, principally because of world pressure by nature lovers. (15) As national parks exclude all types of human activity this signified the loss of a large quantity of pasture land for the nomadic peoples of Kenya and Tanzania, the Maasai being the worst affected. Their petition to retain free access to their pastures was denied for the reason that it was necessary to maintain the national parks in as near virgin state as possible. This argument was supported by the tourist industry which said that tourists were interested in seeing wild animals in their natural surroundings and not cows, goats and sheep grazing on the savanna.

The Maasai ask whether wild animals are more important than people. Is it justifiable that in order to protect animals, the basis for survival of a people is affected? As a result of these problems a compromise has been reached in some

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of the regions where instead of national parks, fauna reserves have been created. In the latter, grazing and watering of cattle on a non-permanent basis is permitted. Examples of this are: Masai Mara Game Reserve (recently converted to a national park), Ngorongoro Conservation Area and Maswa Game Reserve (a southern continuation of the Serengeti Park).

Another form of compromise between the Maasai and the nature conservationists was to create a park of limited area, keeping its periphery open for grazing. In this way the wild animals have a zone of absolute protection and a dispersion zone shared with the cattle during and after the wet season. The Aboseli National Park is an example of this system.

Finally, the Ngorongoro Conservation Area – the eastern section of the Serengeti National Park – shows that a co-existence between the wild animals and the Maasai with their cattle is possible. Because of an agreement with the administration of the Tanzania national parks, the Maasai are able to water their cattle in the Ngorongoro crater in the dry season together with the vast majority of the wild animals of the Serengeti grasslands. Due to the Maasai prohibition on hunting and the justified respect shown by the animals to the Maasai spears, both groups live together without much conflict.

The jumping competition: extremely popular (photo: Pierre Rossel).

Nevertheless, at the end of the 1950s there was a ban on burning the grasslands before the rainy season. This ancient Maasai custom is at first sight opposed to the idea of protecting nature, apart from being an event which, according to the park administration, frightens the tourists.

However, an agronomy study (16) has shown that the periodic burning of the pastures is good for the cattle. If this burning does not take place, as has been the case in Ngorongoro since 1959, the rough grassland, which is not eaten either by cattle or other animals, advances uncontrolledly and in a few years eclipses the remaining vegetation. The situation further degenerates because this shrub grass is an ideal culture medium for mosquitoes carrying a dangerous sickness for cattle. Some 60 per cent of the Maasai herds died over a period of five years from this disease. For many Maasai the only way to survive was to emigrate to other regions of pasture outside the conservation zone and in spite of the government's efforts to improve the situation in the Ngorongoro region the Maasai are not satisfied. As Branagan (1974:73) said: "Since, however, the original opportunity will not recur, it must be doubted if the potential which once existed can ever now be realised."

This example shows how apparently logical and simple solutions, such as the prohibition of burning pastureland, can be wrong when submitted to ecological and socio-ecological scrutiny. It is necessary to stress here that a wrong decision of this type can be catastrophic for a small group like the Maasai of Ngorongoro. Furthermore, it is clear that, faced with a coalition of powers such as those of the state (centralised), tourism (economic) and ecologists (public opinion), small pastoral groups are nearly always the losers. Even when an important decision has to be taken, the interests of the politicians, tourists agencies, experts and nature conservationists carry more weight than those of the pastoralists, in spite of the fact that it is the latter who are most directly affected by these decisions.

Notes

1. Fedders and Salvatori summarise as follows the most negative preconceptions about the Maasai people: "..pub-crawling from animal to animal, quaffing vast quantities of blood; licentious sexual behaviour in a life of sleep with whom you will; an existence of abundant leisure in a succession of lazy days..." (Fedders and Salvatori 1979:79).
2. The first classifications of the peoples of East Africa define the Maasai as belonging to the group of "Nilo-Hamites" in that they supposed them to be the product of a mixing of the negroid Nilotes with the white-skinned Hamites from northwest Africa. Nevertheless, the most recent linguistic studies have shown this theory to be false.

3. "According to their myths the Maasai first found themselves in a crater-like country surrounded by inaccessible hills and escarpments. One season the rains failed and great suffering resulted, with people and cattle dying. But during the drought it was observed that birds used to come down the steep escarpments and bring green grass which they used for making their nests. The elders met and (....) decided to send scouts to examine the land beyond. But how were they to ascend the impossible cliffs of the hills and escarpments? Eventually a small track was found, but it was so steep that people had to go sideways or walk on all fours."

"As soon as the scouts reached the top, they were staggered with amazement at the beauty, the fertility and the greenness of the land that they found. There were wide stretches of pastureland, many streams and rivers and a lot of living room."

"After the elders had been briefed on the land that was available and told that it was all empty, they decided that they must abandon the barren land (....) and go out in search of new pastures." After the problem of the steep ascent had been resolved by constructing a 'bridge' "...the great ascent began. Men, women and children, cattle, sheep, goats and donkeys - all were going up the great bridge. When about half the people had gone up and the other half were still on the bridge, suddenly the bridge collapsed, thus throwing half the population back into the arid plains in the crater. (...)After much deliberation it was resolved to leave them alone. These people became 'Ilmeek', the non-Maasai."

"Since that time the Maasai have used the event of coming up from the escarpment as a major milestone in talking about events that have happened" (Sankan, 1971:67-69).

4. In the second half of the 19th century some *laibon* extended their religious power to political power and tried to increase their own clan power at the expense of other related families. In the 1884 in the environs of Nakuru, there was a battle between the Purko and Laikipiak clans. The latter lost the battle and were thrown out into the empty edges of the crater of the Menegain volcano.
5. Mbatian (died in 1890) had already shown the Maasai the military superiority of the European invaders and recommended caution in their treatment of them. This had the result that there were no important conflicts between the Maasai the British (cf. Sankan, 1971:XXIII).
6. In 1979 in Kajiado there were 93,0000 Maasai out of the total population for the District of 149,000 inhabitants. In Narok there were 119,000 Maasai out of a total population of 210,000. Another 10,000 Maasai lived in Laikipiak District and 4,500 in Nakuru District.

7. Any occupation other than cattle raising is seen as offending god (*Engai*) who gives the cattle to the Maasai. According to a Maasai legend, *Engai* (meaning god and sky) came from the earth and the sky. "When the two are separated Engai sends the cattle of the sky to the earth making them descend from the aerial roots of the fig tree. Therefore the Maasai are the sole legal owners of cattle on the earth."
8. Nevertheless some species of animals, especially the rhinos and elephants have been decimated. The only exception to the Maasai hunting taboo is the Elan antelope and the lions which the young Maasai hunt with a spear as a test of their bravery and their initiation as warriors.
9. They grow only some vegetables to complement the Maasai diet which consists principally of meat and milk. In order to get money they also grow some easily sold products such as barley which is used in the brewing industry in Narok District.
10. The *moran* period is divided into two stages: that of the young *morans* and that of the old *morans*.
11. The exception was the religious leaders (*laibons*) who at the end of the last century and against the will of rival clans, tried to usurp political power over all the Maasai.
12. "Modernised" Africans show a certain dislike of Maasai dress with its traditional tunics and feel the necessity of excusing it to foreign visitors. In some cases, the Maasai are discriminated against, abused and refused entry into bars.
13. Some of the reasons for the lack of development of tourism in Kenya are:
    a) the so-called oil crisis of the 1970s which slowed down tourism globally;
    b) the closure of the border between Tanzania and Kenya which was a retrogressive step for the tourist industry in both countries;
    c) the world economic depression at the beginning of the 1980s which resulted in a fall in the earnings of middle class Europeans and the consequent decrease in mass tourism;
    d) the negative reports on the Ugandan civil war, next door to Kenya, in the international press.
14. In these reserves certain mammals and birds are particularly protected. In 1921 there were, in the then British Tanganyika, 11 complete fauna reserves and 2 partial reserves. Nevertheless over the subsequent 40 years only one reserve was converted into a national park: the Serengeti National Park (1941) (cf. Ouma, 1971:44-46).
15. One frustrated English nature conservationist wrote an article in a Kenyan newspaper in 1936 suggesting (sarcastically) that all the wild animals in East Africa be wiped out to make way for agriculture. The enthusiastic reaction

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of the European colonists to this suggestion convinced nature lovers of the necessity of creating the present national parks shortly after the 2nd World War (Ouma, 1971:43).

16. The study "A Conflict between Tourist Interests and Pastoralism in the Ngorongoro Highlands of Tanzania" was presented by Dennis Branagan in the congress entitled "Tourism in Africa and the Management of Related Resources" which took place in the Centre for African Studies at the University of Edinburgh in 1974.

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Map of Indonesia and South East Asia (Jørgen Ulrich).

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Tourism and Indonesian Cultural Minorities

By Jean-Luc Maurer and Arlette Zeigler

In Indonesia tourism is a recent phenomenon and one on which the government has focused all its attention and hope for the country's development. After a very promising start the number of tourists coming to the country seems to have levelled off over the past few years and this may be largely due to the essential character of tourism in Indonesia. It is the archipelago's huge cultural diversity which, above all, attracts foreign visitors which means that tourism concentrates on the Indonesia's cultural minorities. For this reason the problem of tourism for cultural minorities is set out very precisely in Indonesia. After looking in detail at tourism on the national scale, we will look in more detail at islands of Bali and Nias which are the two most disparate of all the archipelago's microcultural regions directly affected by tourism.

The General Problem in Outline

We will first look at the importance of the tourist phenomenon in a country where the greatest attraction lies in its wealth of cultural diversity and then try to see how the problem of relations between the cultural minorities and the visiting foreigner fits into this context.

The Importance of the Tourist Phenomenon

International mass tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon in Indonesia. For example less than 3,500 "foreign guests" (1) visited the country in 1960 while the number had already exceeded 80,000 in neighbouring Thailand. (2) This apparent lack of interest in an archipelago, known in the West since Marco Polo's time for its wonders, is undoubtedly linked with the political instability and economic difficulties to which it has been victim since the 1960s. The Suharto regime which emerged out of this period opted for a decidedly neo-capitalist strategy of development and threw open its gates to foreign capital and investment. Overflowing with natural resources and offering a market potential for already more than 100,000 people, Indonesia could not remain indifferent to the world of international finance.

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In the Third World, we are well aware of the pattern by which missionaries first break the ground, the military marches in and the merchants follow close behind. However, all we have learned from this is that over the last few decades the latter have had a habit of often bringing a new "bird" in their bag, a bird called tourism. International tourism, then at the height of the boom, and always searching for unknown exotic paradises, was immediately interested in Indonesia which was emerging from its long quarantine.

The government for its part, was anxious to maximise on sources of revenue which were necessary for its effort to develop and could not pass over this golden opportunity. Aware of the country's enormously under-exploited potential for tourism, it focused all its attention on this promising sector. Even in the first five year development plan (*Replita* I 1969/74) tourism was given an important role; the 30,000 visitors in 1968 were predicted to have increased to 150,000 by 1974 (3). One could even imagine that the five volumes of the plan were on the shelves of numerous travel agencies because the "launching" of this new destination aroused such enthusiasm that the number of visitors increased much more rapidly than expected and reached nearly 330,000 in 1974, more than double the target. This brought almost $58,000,000 to the country. (4) In the light of such an unexpected success, the authorities became more ambitious and in the second plan estimated an increase in the number of visitors to 540,000 by 1978. (5) However, the enthusiasm subsided as suddenly as it arose and the volume of tourists did not even reach 460,000. (6) Though the attraction of something novel is often short lived, the decline was probably related to the first effects of the world economic recession. But this did not dampen the Indonesian government's optimism; already neighbouring Thailand had long since exceeded the million-tourists-per-year mark and with the first signs of the fall in the price of oil on the horizon, it was more vital than ever to maximise profits from sources other than foreign currency. The third plan, therefore, predicted a strong increase in tourism but having become more prudent through experience, the number of tourists was estimated in the range of 718,00 to 907,000 for 1984. (7) According to present available estimates the number of tourists did not appear to exceed 683,000 that year. (8) This brought between $450,000,000 and $500,000,000 into the country, and put tourism in fifth place, as a source of revenue, after oil, gas, rubber and wood (this estimation is on the conservative side). (9) Meanwhile, the decline in the price of petrol was a dramatic turning point for a country with little revenue and a large population like Indonesia. This explains why Indonesia adopted measures such as doing away with visas for trips of less than two months to tourists originating from 26 benefactor countries. This was an attempt to revive the dynamism of international tourism in the country. 1985 was officially decreed the "year of tourism". By these means the government was counting on

surpassing the magical number of one million visitors by the end of the fourth plan in 1989 (10) and making tourism the third largest source of revenue after products from the oil industry. Again this seems to have been very optimistic. However, no effort is being spared to improve the image and attractiveness of the archipelago for the eyes and imagination of the potential visitor. But what really is this attraction?

Cultural Diversity: a Major Attraction

A magnificent "belt of emeralds wound around the Equator". (11) Indonesia presents - from the majestic lakes of Sumatra to the snow-capped peaks of Irian Jaya (West Papua) and from the deep forests of Kalimantan to the millenarian rice terraces of Java - a painter's palette of landscapes, each one more sublime than the other. However, it is the cultural diversity which attracts the majority of tourists. Moreover this is the view of the Indonesian government itself as it declared in the first five year plan: "Indonesia's tourist attractions....are of great interest and are known the world over, particularly for their unique cultural aspects". (12) At the crossroads of civilisations - a port between the Indian and Pacific Oceans but also a bridge between the continents of Asia and Australia - the archipelago presents a mosaic of microcultures, probably unequalled anywhere in the world. In fact, there are more than 300 ethnic groups (13) with more differences between them than each could have with the Geneva Calvinistic bourgeoisie. The contrasts are both surprising and fascinating. For example it is difficult to imagine more disparity than that between an austere Muslim merchant from Ache in north Sumatra and a Christian from the north of Sulawesi strumming the strings of his guitar, or an aristocratic Javanese mystic versed in the current principles of Yogya or Solo. The only point of contact in this thick mesh of cultural diversity is that the members of each ethnic group are equal citizens of the same nation state, the "great" Indonesia, stretching across Southeast Asia. (14) As paradoxical as this might appear, it is exactly this diversity which constitutes the basic principle of the unifying ideology of the Indonesian State, and has done since the national motto "Bhinneka tunggal ika" - which means literally "Unity in the Diversity" - dating back to the 14th century and attributed to Mpu Tantular, the famous official poet of the Majapahit court and last of the great Indo-Javanese rulers to have brought most of the archipelago under his domination. (15) As a result of centuries of intercultural contacts and three major waves of outside influence from India, Islam and the West, this diversity is therefore not only tolerated but also recognised and even encouraged. The importance of local forms of art on the national television's daily viewing is enough to prove this. (16) In fact, certain great Indonesian thinkers such as

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Takdir Alisjahbana have even considered the diversity as the most precious inheritance of the national patrimony. (17) For them, as the real source of the originality of Indonesia's cultural wealth but also the guarantee of its creativity and survival, this diversity ought to be preciously guarded and nurtured. And it is above all to "discover" certain of the most praised and famous aspects of Indonesia's cultural diversity that the vast majority of foreign tourists undertake the long voyage to the distant archipelago.

Poppie's Hotel, Kuta, Bali (photo: A. Viaro).

In fact, the archipelago does not offer white sand beaches as magnificent and vast as those of Africa or a sea with lagoons as clear and coloured as those of Oceania. Moreover, and happily, there are none of the places of organised pleasure in Jakarta or in any of the other large Indonesian towns which always attract large numbers of male visitors to Bangkok or Rio de Janeiro in search of exotic sexual adventures. This supports our claim that Indonesia attracts a more culturally oriented tourism. If we look at the nationalities of those who visit on business and those who come for pleasure, we can make further conclusions in support of this argument. In 1982, of the 600,000 foreign visitors entering Indonesia, about 40 per cent came from Asian countries, while the percentages of those from Western Europe, Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) and North America (USA and Canada) were respectively 31 per cent, 15 per cent and 10 per cent. (18) By country, the top ten were: Australia (14.2), Singapore (13.3), Japan (11.7), Great Britain (9.1), USA (8.8), Malaysia (7.5), Benelux countries

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(6.9), Germany (4.8), France (4.2) and Italy (2.8). (19) From this we can make the following points.

First, we can see that those coming from neighbouring countries in the Asia-Pacific region clearly constitute more than half of all visitors entering Indonesia. They are, moreover, from the two closest neighbours, Australia and Singapore, which are at the top of the individual country ratings. But these cases are, in fact, completely different. Indonesia is effectively the "Australians' Tunisia", and so Australians, for the most part, can be considered as "real tourists", however the majority of the visitors from Singapore who visit the archipelago are Chinese businessmen who are engrossed in the large cities and rarely leave them. If we concentrate our analysis on the "real tourists" we discover that those coming from European countries are by far the "amateur" seekers after the islands' wonders. This is not surprising when we consider that their trips are essentially for cultural interest. Furthermore, this is not new; since 1972 European visitors have accounted for 22 per cent of the market and this has been increasing. The opposite can be said for the North Americans, however, who from about the same level have decreased by more than a half in ten years. (20) We are left with the conclusion that for the escalating tourist public in countries with old cultures themselves, Indonesia has conserved and even consolidated its ability to attract. Whereas in the "New World", and in California as much as Queensland, tourists are turning towards exotic horizons which are less cultural and offer more "diverse" attractions. (21) In our opinion, the fact that the development of mass tourism in Indonesia is focused on a very restricted potential clientele explains the levelling-off phenomenon which seems to have happened in recent years.

Once in Indonesia, the foreign tourist visits almost exclusively those regions of the country which have most interest from a cultural perspective. These are mostly situated in the ten provinces of the country which are officially considered as tourist promotion zones and the focus of regular official publicity. (22) Therefore the tourists go where they want to go but on the whole it is also where they are wanted to go. The obligatory classical route for travellers with 3 to 4 weeks at their disposal is generally limited to the capital, Jakarta, the region of Yogyakarta and the island of Bali. Those who have more time or money often tour the five Javanese provinces before going to "recuperate" on Bali and will also visit the regions of Batak and Minajgkabua, to the north and west of Sumatra, or similarly the Toraja region in the south of Sulawesi. And finally, beyond the beaten track, the most curious and the most well-to-do adventurers make their way towards the small islands of the Sonde, such as Sumba and Flores, which are rich in textiles, or ascend the great rivers of Kalimantan in order to penetrate the heart of Dayak lands. The constant feature here is Bali which is the focal

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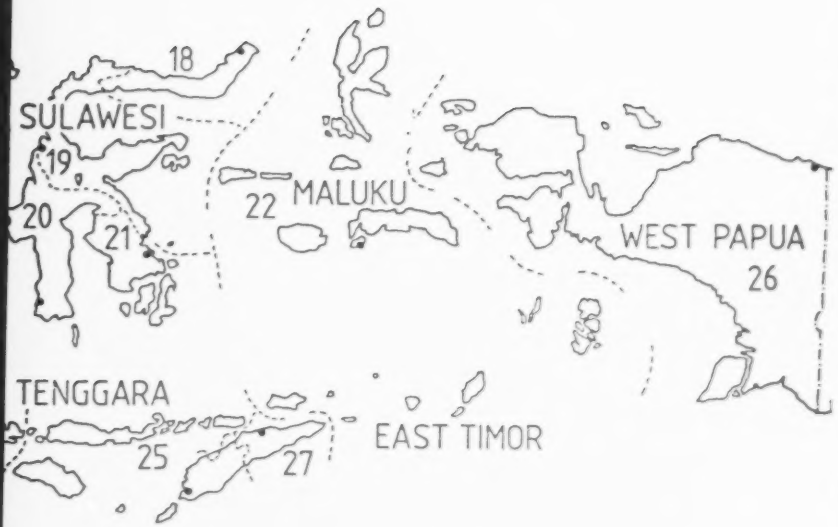
Indonesia´s Provinces

1. DKI Jakarta	1. West Java
4. DI Yogyakarta	5. East Java
7. Jambi	8. Bengkulu
10. West Sumatra	11. North Sumatra
13. Lampung	14. West Kalimantan
16. South Kalimantan	17. East Kalimantan
19. Central Sulawesi	20. South Sulawesi
22. Naluku	23. Bali
25. East Nusa Tanggara	26. Irian Jaya (West Papua)



3. Central Java
6. South Sumatra
9. Riau
12. Aceh
15. Central Kalimantan
18. North Sulawesi
21. Southeast Sulawesi
24. West Nusa Tanggara
27. East Timor

point and obligatory watering place for all Indonesian traffic of any kind worthy of the name tourist. So, if we put to one side those "business" tourists who constitute a rather particular group, the foreign visitors who come to Indonesia can essentially be classified into two categories: travellers who likes their comfort and the "back-packers" who like to see the "local colour". They both behave differently and have different impacts on socio-economic as well as socio-cultural spheres. Unfortunately it is impossible to go into more detail on this subject within the framework of this article (23) so it must suffice to say simply that both result from more or less the same motivations in the dominant culture. It is principally to "discover" the wealth of Indonesian cultural diversity that the majority have trodden the archipelago over the last fifteen years. In doing this, they have awakened the curiosity of the Indonesian urban bourgeoisie who, after asking themselves for a long time what it was that the tourists could find interesting to visit in such "rustic" parts as Bali or so "primitive" an area as the Toraja, have begun to go to see these places for themselves. This has given rise to a rapidly increasing domestic tourism with quite a significant economic importance and, above all, it changes what had formerly only been an abstract awareness of their country's cultural diversity into something more concrete. (24) In this way numerous national cultural minorities discover or re-discover each other. However, this is not as simple as it sounds because they are rarely on an equal footing and the understanding that they gain of each other is often charged with the weight of history.

The Problems Facing Cultural Minorities

Discussing the problems of cultural minorities is never easy. To begin with, the concept is eminently subjective: a minority only exists in relation to a majority and a group which is a minority on the national scale is a majority on the regional scale. (25) Moreover, the characteristics which serve to define a cultural minority, given that they are many and varied (ethnic links, linguistic family, religion, production techniques, cultural practices, dietary habits, mode of social reproduction, etc.), are blurred and the extent to which a group is a "minority" or "majority" will differ according to the criteria chosen.

In the case of Indonesia, the situation is made both simpler and more complex because of the axiom of *pancasila* (26) on which state ideology is based. *Pancasila*, as we have already seen, is the basis of "unity in the diversity". Therefore, in theory, there are neither majorities nor minorities but the diversity recognises a certain number of ethnic or religious groups which are considered equal and all participate in the unity of the State. In reality, the economic and political weight of each of these groups varies enormously. Furthermore, the general per-

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ception that Indonesians have of the real relations of power which determine the relations between national cultural minorities is very different from that of the casual foreign visitor.

For Indonesians, their understanding and analysis of the phenomenon of cultural minorities usually follows two distinct lines: on the one hand, Javanese domination of all other ethnic groups in the archipelago and, on the other, the relations between the different subordinated groups. There is no lack of objective data to demonstrate the superior weight of Java and the Javanese. In demographical terms the island includes 60 per cent of the national population; in economic and political terms its pre-eminence in the archipelago is not recent and dates back to the pre-Islamic period. (27) Strictly speaking, those of Javanese ethnicity number only 50 to 60 million people, that is to say about a third of the population of Indonesia, but as a cultural minority it gives them a large majority over the other minorities in the country. It is not surprising that given this situation Java imposes its perspective on others and therefore has a tight hold of the reigns of power in the realms of administration and the armed forces.

The first to suffer from the, at times, suffocating weight of Javanese-ness are the other ethnic groups on the island, the Sundanese in the west and the Madurese in the east. But the archipelago's other cultural minorities are not far behind; they feel this heavy hand all around them through the state bureaucracy and the "transmigration" of part of the excess population to the "outer islands". (28) In some regions this is happening to such an extent that it could be considered in fact a process of "Javanisation" of Indonesia. This domination of the minority population is clearly seen as being at the heart of the country's other cultural minorities' inter-ethnic problems, but they do not all feel and experience it in the same way.

Some groups consider themselves on an equal footing with the Javanese because of their size, such as the Sundanese who number more than 25 million, or because their history and character gives them an economic and political position disproportional to their numerical importance, such as the Batak. These peoples sometimes mock the Javanese and treat them with a certain condescension because of their refined manners, their exaggeratedly polite attitude or their slow and polished way of speaking. (29)

On the other hand, other more impotent and marginalised groups such as the Mentawai of western Sumatra and the Asmat and Dani from Irian Jaya, not to mention the Timorese of the old Portuguese colony, are in the direct line of fire of Javanese domination and often have a hard life under it. The Javanese, for their part, do not see the other cultural minorities of the archipelago in the same way. Though they consider themselves infinitely more "civilised" and con-

sequently superior to all their compatriots; a Javanese from Solo or Yogya nevertheless, will afford a Batak, a Minangkabau, a Bugis or a Balinese certain recognition and cultural legitimacy. While always lamenting their rude manners and suspicious behaviour, they admit they can converse with them.

It is just the opposite, however, with the Dayak of central Kalimantan, the Huaulu of Ceram or the Niha of Nias who are considered very distant, completely different and even foreign which is to say, "savage". The Javanese would therefore find it very difficult to treat these people from the borders or the frontiers of the empire with foreign and in their eyes scandalous customs and practices on a equal footing. This differential perception is found in all Indonesian cultural minorities according to whether they are majorities and dominant or minorities and dominated on the local level.

In this way we find that the coastal peoples such as the Bugis of Sulawesi of the Bandjar of Kalimantan show the same disrespect to their immediate neighbours in the interior - the Toraja in one case, the Dayak in the other - as the Javanese show to all the other ethnic groups in the archipelago. (30) The situation is the same among important groups such as the Batak or the Minangkabau from the huge island of Sumatra and the vulnerable microcultures on the marginal coasts of the small islands such as Nias or Mentawai which are under direct dependence. Seen from the opposite point of view, a Toraja or a Niha will feel the weight of the Bugis cultural minority or the Batak who dominate them directly more than that of the Javanese which is more distant and diffused.

As minorities of minorities, such circumscribed groups are often under the most precarious type of cultural domination. Though the position of the Chinese ethnic minority is totally different, they are no more enviable in this respect. In spite of having been assimilated centuries ago, they are not registered in a well defined territory but are present in all the towns large and small throughout the archipelago where they control the commerce and the finance. However, all the other groups from the archipelago are in agreement that they should not be given Indonesian identity which puts the Chinese in a situation which is particularly difficult to analyse within the framework of this paper. Despite the complexity, these examples show the play of intercultural and inter-ethnic relations in Indonesia.

It is quite impossible for casual visitors to be able to understand all the subtlety of relations between the different cultural minorities which they come across. As a general rule, they have a false perception, given that they exaggerate the minority character of such and such a group or that they mix it up altogether. Often the group in question is not seen as a cultural minority but as an autonomous ethnic entity. It is in this way that a naive and ignorant tourist enquired recently in a Nias village about the equivalence of the Niha dollar with American

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currency! A cultural minority can also be mistaken for a majority, as the woman who asked her guide the following apocryphal question shows: "Indonesia, Indonesia? What part of Bali is that?". In other cases, the real cultural specificity of the groups concerned is not recognised and Batak and Minangkabau are lumped into one undifferentiated Indonesian entity. On the other hand, others exaggeratedly emphasise the unique cultural character of the group they visited and talk mysteriously about the inaccessible Dayak of Borneo, a word that sounds much more exotic than the Kalimantan on Indonesian maps. (31)

In short, the foreign tourist has a strong chance of not understanding anything of the problem of the national cultural minorities. It goes without saying that the domestic tourists who follow the trail are not in the same situation. As members of a cultural minority they perceive the others by means of criteria whose origins go back before the development of tourism in the archipelago. In assuming the guise of tourist they do not abandon their prejudices inherited from history. Therefore, Javanese visiting Bali will have the tendency to see in the local culture what they already knew about it before coming. So they judge it noisily, carelessly, in an unrefined way, in fact, as a little inferior to their own. The Bugis who go to Toraja country or the Batak making a tour to the island of Nias will have roughly the same feelings. The groups visited, for their part, perceive their visiting compatriots just as they always knew them: arrogant and domineering.

On the other hand, the recipient hosts have less intimate knowledge and experience of the visiting foreigners who are seen, above all, as a group with bizarre customs and often shocking attitudes introducing a certain prosperity in exchange for certain damage to the established order of things. Often, tourists are seen as no more than a fortunate species of milk cow, a type of avant-garde minority with infinite wealth who come over from the West and are also as profoundly deceived by their hosts as the latter are by them. Therefore the chances of an intercultural meeting based on understanding and mutual recognition are limited if not practically non-existent.

The question of the socio-cultural impact of tourism remains. According to our analysis it depends mainly on the cultural minorities having or not having a certain number of characteristics. The first of these is linked to the degree of internal cohesion, the vitality of structures and traditional practices, and the capacity to resist all that comes from the outside.

The second touches on their capacity for renewal, that is to assimilate and reinterpret outside cultural influences. The third concerns the ability to differentiate between the sacred and the profane, between what can eventually be commercialised and what must absolutely not be affected by any commercial relations. And lastly, the fourth, is to take account of the social solidarity and capaci-

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ty to divide equally the economic benefits and social costs of intercultural contact. (32) The fact that a cultural minority does or does not have these capacities is largely a result of history and the nature of past intercultural contacts. This also determines, to a large extent, its vulnerability to tourism, the modern incarnation of intercultural relations. By looking at case studies of two cultural minorities from the Indonesian archipelago which are directly affected by tourism – the Balinese and the Niha – we can see this in more detail .

Two case studies

For a study of the problem of tourism and cultural minorities in Indonesia, Bali and Nias are perhaps the two most extreme cases one could choose. Being the products of very different historical processes, the two microcultures have, in fact, quite dissimilar characteristics and are furthermore faced with a tourism which is very different in form and volume. It would be almost impossible to find two more significant example-types in all the archipelago.

Bali: "the island of the gods"

The traditional structure of Balinese society.

Bali is certainly Indonesia's most well-known island. A modest size (5,624 sq.km., about 3 million inhabitants), it has developed a very ancient culture which still survives today. It is the only island to have preserved Hinduism, which was prevalent up to the 15th century in the archipelago, though nevertheless mixed with an autochthonous animism.

Balinese society is characterised by a number of important systems which regulate social practices and social interaction. They express the fundamental Balinese concepts of community, religion, culture and the laws of custom. Together these systems are the basis of, and the principal organisers of, not only socio-religious behaviour but eventually all activities. There are seven systems which facilitate an understanding of the society:

- the village, through three temples which symbolise it (village, origin and death);
- the *banjar* – the segment of a village which functions as a mutual aid group, especially for feasts;
- the *subak* – all the rice terraces irrigated from the same dam and all who cultivate these terraces;
- the cast (or the titled group);
- the family, restricted or unrestricted;
- the *sekaha* – a voluntary association;

- lastly, the Indonesian administration's own administrative network which is superimposed on all the above.

The economic and social functions, together with the religious and political, appear at different levels which embroil them in a net of relations of variable configurations. The flexibility of this net and the different levels at play are probably one of the reasons for the vigour of Balinese culture, in the sense that should one of them be threatened the others are able to continue to play their roles.

Putr Fiesta, Bali (photo: A. Viaro).

In a society where community relations and the worship of gods play a major part, surplus economy is used up by distributing it through different levels of society according to custom - usually through feasts which are one of the most spectacular aspects of Balinese culture. Therefore temple feasts call for gifts from the whole village community while the expenses for the celebrated cremations are defrayed by the *banjar* pertaining to the dead person, as a corollary of the family. In the same way, the system of *subak* for rice cultivation is not only a production technique but also an activity permitting a certain redistribution by religious practices linked with the temples of *subak*. So we can see that in a system where priority is given to communal and festive aspects, the accumulation of individual capital is, by definition, very difficult.

Tourism to Bali: historical background and economic importance

The attraction of Bali is not new. Tourists have made it a port of call since 1930 but the flow of visitors was restricted until about 1968. Nevertheless, it is certain that the first travellers fascinated by Balinese culture (e.g. Bateson, M. Mead, M. Covarrubias and Vicki Baaum, to name but a few) contributed through their publications to making the "island of the gods" known as if they were inventing a myth.

The first tourists came by boat, spending on average 4 days in Bali where the accommodation was limited. The effects of the global increase in tourism since 1969 (33) and the extension of the airport at Ngurah Raito to take international traffic are being felt: the flow of tourists has increased by 27.5 per cent annually to 275,000 visitors in 1975 and approximately 400,000 in 1980. (34) This means that almost two tourists out of every three visit Bali on their voyage around Indonesia. The Indonesian Government's policies have encouraged this development. Thus in 1976, M.E. Salim, the Minister of Communications and Tourism, declared:

> ...overpopulated regions such as...Bali have no other resources than their refined culture, their population, their art and artisan work and the beauty of the countryside. Therefore international tourism is not only a means of assuring more foreign currency for sustaining national development but is also envisaged as a potential "engine of development capable of starting up the process of (economic) take-off.(35)

In this speech the Balinese way of life is seen as nothing more than a commodity which is denied its logic in the sense of a complete and coherent social system. It is put up for auction for the benefit of the nation and the end result of the process is an economic take-off which will totally change Bali culture.

But at the same time high officials agreed that tourism was a double edged sword which ought to be handled carefully in order to safeguard the cultural diversity which was the tourism trump card; as a counterbalance they emphasised that one must try not to kill the " hen that lays the golden eggs". (36)

This double vision was to come about in Bali through establishing a tourist industry directed from Jakarta and with international capital, while at the same time developing a complete network of accommodation derived directly from local initiatives. We will call these the planned sector and the unplanned sector.

The two sectors of the Balinese tourist economy

- The planned sector

From 1968, the Indonesian government decided to plan the tourist development of Bali; an operational plan was drawn up. (37) The development processes and

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the envisaged outcome were to serve as a model for the whole of the Indonesian tourist sector.

The conclusions of the first report of the operation implied in fact a maximum exploitation of the island (and the tourists) while the means of respecting and maintaining the cultural characteristics and letting the Balinese take part in the economic returns of the operation seemed to have been mentioned more for the sake of form than really taken into account. The plan was to concentrate the tourist paraphernalia in the southern triangle of the island (bordered to the north by the line Kuta-Denpasar-Sanur), and above all to create the Nusa Dua complex.

Putr Fiesta, Bali (photo: A. Viaro).

It was hoped that the operational plan would promote a quantitative rather than qualitative tourism (the only criteria being the revenue from capital investments) with a projected influx of 730,000 tourists in 1985. A typical stay would be four days in an international luxury class hotel. The visitors were anticipated according to itineraries which restricted their contact with the Balinese population and its culture, which it is not possible to understand from the dances presented in the hotels and the specially made artisan and art work. These measures, made to sanctify the tourist facilities and restrict contact between visitors

and the indigenous population, were considered a way of preserving Balinese culture.

Initially planned for a capacity of 6,950 rooms, the complex at Nusa Dua was accepted in 1972, however with the number of rooms restricted to 2,500 by BIRD. (38) The first part, built in conjunction with a hotel school, was opened in 1981 and the construction was still continuing in 1985.

- *The unplanned sector*

Parallel with the planned building above, at the end of the 1960s, the Balinese put a flexible system of accommodation into action. This was remarkably adapted to the needs of a good number of tourists and was concerned to place them within the framework of traditional organisation.

Divided out through the island and in the interesting spots, the Balinese opened up *losmen* for the tourists. These are small moderately comfortable hotels (generally with less than ten rooms) which are often built as an annex of the *pekarangan*, the central courtyard around which the different rooms of a traditional house are grouped; built in local style, they are generally managed by a family. Actually they are run as a complement to rice cultivation and do not imply a displacement of persons. Nor are they exclusively in the southern triangle - in spite of there being a large concentration in Kuta-Legian - but also in Ubud, Bangli, Cadi Dasa, Peliatan, Singaraja-west, Lovina, Kintamani, etc.

An impressive number of restaurants, from the most modest to the best equipped, are managed by the Balinese in families or according to the principles of the *sekaha*: several people establish a voluntary association with the clear objective that money, work and revenue are distributed. This system works for the rental of cars as much as bicycles and for the *bemo*, local private transport by minibus with a fixed route. Finally, many cultural activities have developed within the framework of the *banjar* and many have been able to build up *gamelan* orchestras or traditional dance groups from the benefits received from the performances for the tourists. Furthermore an always increasing number of courses (painting, dance, *waayang kulit* (shadow theatre), music, in short all the artistic areas where the Balinese excel) are organised in the family hostels or the *banjar*.

These activities do not take much capital in that they use mostly local technological resources as much as the traditional social structure. In this sense, they are perfectly suited to Balinese administration and management and are, above all, compatible with their way of life.

The ambiguity and impact of the tourist phenomenon

It is Bali's ambiguity to offer such an interesting potential for tourism and, because of having made this potential, to be deprived of means (local capital)

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to direct it in the way that it can take root and develop strong infrastructures. On the other hand, the traditional structure lends itself perfectly, in the economic and social sense, to the development of flexible infrastructures.

In fact the analysis of the structure of Bali tourist facilities has led to the appearance of a bipolarity that cannot be changed. As can frequently be seen elsewhere, the presence of one sector is devoted to international tourism, be it through business or leisure, and another is reserved for the accommodation of nationals. This bipolarism demands the exploitation of the Bali tourist potential through investment (Indonesian and foreign), given the cultural incapacity of the Balinese to set the necessary capital free for a real tourist industry, and on the other hand, the development by the Balinese themselves of activities linked to tourism which help to prolong and at the same time to reinforce the traditional systems.

If we take the four criteria we mentioned earlier (internal cohesion, capacity for renewal, differentiation between sacred and profane, and social solidarity) it seems at first glance that Bali possesses them all to a high degree. Nevertheless, we must also look at this in the light of what we call the planned sector and the unplanned sector.

The degree of internal cohesion in Bali is broadly linked to it being anchored within a physical and social space and the vitality of the *banjar*. This cohesion only comes through those who take part in all its activities. But for the Balinese who have moved towards the "golden triangle" to work in the big hotels, for example, belonging to a *banjar* is no more than a convention, thus weakening the *banjar* so that it loses its cohesive force.

The Balinese capacity for renewal and above all the reinterpretation of foreign influences is widely recognised by all the authors. (39) This always poses the question of the threshold of disfunction. Faced with the enormous flux of tourists, and especially their concentration, there is a great risk that this threshold will soon be reached, if this has not already happened in some areas such as Kuta or Legian. Furthermore the total immersion by the Balinese employees in the planned sector is a distinct way of life, as is typical of the lavish setting in the many hotel schools, and it is seriously altering their capabilities.

However, if there is one criterion that Balinese society appears to have maintained intact, it is the distinction between sacred and profane. Ceremonies, such as cremation or temple feasts are not absolutely corrupted (40), neither in their sacred functions nor in their sentiment, even if they are performed in the presence of numerous tourists.

Finally, with regard to social solidarity, the situations vary. In Batubulan, the creation of a *barong* spectacular does not only benefit the community but has initiated other cultural creations which function within the traditional struc-

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tural framework. In Kuta, the riddle asks: "What is the first thing the Balinese from Kuta think about when they wake up? - about the dollars they will make today!" This clearly expresses the degree of decay in the social solidarity in this part of the island when remembering that individual accumulation of earnings is incompatible with the idea of community within Balinese society. This is what has brought the recent appearance of beggars. Over and above the increase in Chinese, Javanese and Sulawese in this zone and the emergence of Christian communities, tourism can only break up the solidarity through the parcelisation of the social relations it implies.

The result of all this is that, with the exception of the loss of the capacity to differentiate between the sacred and the profane, there is a tendency for all the other social features to weaken. In the planned sector, we have to admit that the balance is negative, and in the unplanned sector which is still based on traditional structures, the importance of the flow of tourists runs the risk of reaching a critical level beyond which the Balinese will lose control.

Nias: another "island of the gods" (41)

Traditional structures of Niha society

Nias, in the west of Sumatra, is an island of 4,475 sq.km. and about 500,000 inhabitants. It is relatively unknown and has developed an original culture which is expressed by, among other things, a distinct megalithic architecture which is one of the most impressive things there is to see. It has been Christian since the end of the last century but its own traditions and customs still co-exist. There are three regions (north, centre and south) which are distinguished by house form, village morphology and type of statues, but the language, social practices and social conditions have a common base.

Niha society (this is the term used for men and also for the inhabitants of Nias in the vernacular language) is divided into two classes: the "nobles" and the people (to which slaves were added in the past). Up until the first decades of this century head hunting was practised.

In the north the villages, consisting of oval houses, are grouped around the *öri* (which can be translated as "ring", a confederation of villages); political power and exchange as spheres of reference are established at this level. In the central area the villages are organised around a rectangular square where the statues, Menhirs and stone tables are grouped; the few houses are rustic and quadrangular in shape. These are grouped around the *öri*, that is each one forms an independent unit organised patriarchally. In the south, each village constitutes a kind of "republic" in its territory, with its village assembly; it is sometimes under the authority of a "noble" chief who is considered to have had the

highest degree of feasts among the "nobility". The villages are spread out along the length of a paved road, bordered on each side with a row of adjoining houses with high palm roofs and where the characteristically decorated facade forms an overhang over the road. All Niha houses are built on strong piles of solid wood.

Throughout the island the people integrate with their community - *öri* or village - through a series of feasts that vary in size and number according to the region and the rank of the giver but where everyone, without exception, participates in the giving of beef and its consumption. It is during the course of these feasts that the monolithic monuments and statues are erected whose formal quality, diversity and number leaves no one feeling unimportant. Similarly it is at the most important feasts in the south of the island that the extraordinary chiefs' houses are built which can reach as high as 25 m. and create, together with the megaliths with which they are associated, the most spectacular attraction of the culture of the south.

Tourism on Nias

- The history

Within the archipelago and off the beaten track, Nias has not been visited much and has not aroused the enthusiasm one can see on Bali in the few visitors who stopped there between 1925 and 1940. There are many reasons for this. Firstly, the island is outside any trajectory: one does not just make it a port of call, one has to make a point of going there. Furthermore, it is clear that the Niha do not have the affability, nor the pleasure in the arts for which the Balinese are known; on the contrary, the incessant wars which ravaged the island testify to their antagonism. Finally we must also note the almost total absence of an infrastructure: there were no hotels, only a government "rest-house", missions and the very modest residencies of the colonial administrators where one could stay; there are scarcely any signposts and the only means of transports were some pairs of horses for the use of officials. Therefore, unlike Bali, no foreigners live on Nias, or carry out research which will make the island known. Nevertheless, some visitors (42) mention it; but it is better known by ethnographic art collectors who appreciate the wooden ancestor statues, *adu*, which have been brought to Europe since the island was pacified and made Christian.(43) Nias is gently returning to an oblivion from which it has by definition barely emerged.

- The passenger, the surfer and the trekker

It was in 1974 that tourism started on Nias: on the 19th of January (44) a Holland America Cruises liner, the "Prinsendam", made its first call at the bay of Teluk Dalam in the south of Nias. Three hundred tourists, the first to visit (including the first westerners - up until then only missionaries, administrators and

occasional isolated travellers were known to the Niha) came ashore to visit the village of Bawomataluo. It was probably chosen because it is the most impressive in the south but also because it was one of the few accessible by road. The spectacular performance to present "..the ancient rites..the initiation dances" (Holland American Cruises brochure 1979/80) consisted of in fact old war dances fallen into disuse, welcome dances - still practised - performed by the women and finished off by a series of leaps performed by young men over a stone pyramid some 2,20 m. high. (45) The success of this new port of call for Indonesian cruises was immediate: from then on every fifteen days or less the liner (46) made a stop of five hours in Nias.

The Australians' Beach, Lagundi, Nias (photo: A. Viaro).

At the same time the name of the bay of Lagundi, also in the south, began to circulate among the Australian backpacking surfing amateurs, because of the beauty of the waves. A *losmen* was built around 1975 on the beach; by 1985 there were already 5 offering some thirty "rooms" with nothing more than a straw mattress on the floor.

After a few years, Italian and French tour operators were offering in their brochures a "tour" to Nias which usually advertised a trip to the most accessible villages in the south.

So there were three different categories of visitors. The first consisted of the passengers from cruise liners which made 15 to 20 port calls annually with an average of 150 passengers each call. The second, the surfers and young travellers

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spending longer, represented an average of 600 visitors per year staying about 10 days. The third category, the organised trips, represented about 3 to 4 one-week tours per year with 15 participants.

- *Economic importance*

As far as the economic aspect is concerned it must first be stressed that only the south gets any returns from the flow of tourists which is very modest and shows no signs of increasing.

The first category of tourists has not lead to the development of any facilities which could improve the island's infrastructure. On the contrary it could be said that because of the visitors all the minibuses or lorries are commandeered for their use to the detriment of local transport. The same could be said in Bawomataluo where the returns are about $200 per visit as payment for the dances, a sum which is divided between the villagers by the chief, different taxes and finally the 80 dancers. To this can be added the returns from the sale of sculptures - copies of *adu* or symbolic panels which decorate the chiefs' houses - and whose price varies between $10 and $200. The second category does not bring in any more money because the average amount a backpacker spends is estimated between $2 and $3 and is concentrated in Lagundi. Surfers rarely visit the villages; if they do so it is by foot and they don't spend any money. As far as the third category is concerned, it is more difficult to estimate their effect; but whatever else, they are insignificant both in number of visitors and what they spend.

As regards the island's internal relations there is a certain feeling of envy in the north and centre towards the south. (47) And in the interior of the south, there are similar feelings towards Bawomataluo which receives the majority of tourists. Strange to say Lagundi does not arouse the same feelings, but this can possibly be explained by the fact that it is one of the very few Islamic coastal villages and therefore appears more "outside" to the Niha.

The reality and potential of the socio-cultural impact

It can be argued that from all points of view tourism is far from having the importance it has in Bali. Save for a few exceptions, it must be said that Nias is visited as much as an exotic port of call which spices up a comfortable cruise as a place for practising surfing. But for whichever reason it is not first and foremost because of an interest in Nias culture. However, it must be said that it is not easy to get near to Nias culture and the daily life of the Niha cannot be made into a performance in a photogenic way. Contrary to Bali, where a complete artistic tradition emerged from a court culture linked to Hinduism and which has not only created a rich calendar of feasts but is present in all aspects of daily life,

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Nias has developed a less refined culture of war which has produced no more than the occasional feasts linked to events in the life of a man. Therefore there is no regularity in their practices which have lost much of their importance since the beginning of this century. They have nothing more to offer the visitor than megalithic monuments and chiefs' houses which are certainly excellent evidence of these practices but which are suited more to the quick call than the prolonged stay.

These factors taken together make the attempt to analyse the impact of tourism according to our four earlier criteria very difficult. Furthermore, the reduced pressure from tourists (in number, length of stay and dispersion) is not the main reason for the lack of energy shown in each one of them; their ineffectual performances derive as much as anything from older reasons. The change from animism to Christianity has been an irrefutable rupture and specific Niha practices are only timidly reinserted in the Christian cult, that of a local protestant sect, notably the Fa'awösa church. The Niha lost important resources, if not primordial, through the abolition of slavery, which have not been compensated and have led to the almost disappearance of the necessary surplus for the practice of feasts which demonstrated Niha identity. The Niha are quite aware of these things and, for example, have greatly altered their creative capacity (in wooden and stone statues) and also their social cohesion and dynamism. In the same way the prohibition on beheading has ruptured a process of hierarchisation which also helped them with internal wars, a process which is very difficult to re-balance between the poles constituted by traditional power and that arising from "Indonesianisation".

We must question, however, the role which the development of tourism could play on the island in terms of accelerating the destructuration or, on the other hand, in strengthening Niha society.

Within the sphere of the economic development of northern Sumatra, Nias features as a place with a potential for tourism. It is not certain whether the drawbacks (climatic - heavy rains, topographical - few beaches, fragility of the local resources) will allow for large projects, which in all cases imply important infrastructural work (48) and foreign capital.

The recent creation of an annual festival of Niha culture - the Ya'owu feast - at Gunung Sitoli (the island's capital) by the northern Sumatra Government but unwanted by the Niha could be the first link in a chain of aims for tourism although this is not clear.

However, the development of tourism could be a solution to the island's economic difficulties (49). It could also help to revalue Niha identity and have favourable results if it is under local direction. Bawomataluo provides an example of this: the village has become a cultural symbol. In spite of the kind of ar-

Bawomataluo, Nias (photo: A. Viaro).

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tifacts and the payments tendered, it is undeniable that they help knowledge to continue – in dances, songs and woodwork – which runs the risk of disappearing, assuring revenue and a form of social cohesion which, though is only sketchy in this case, could strengthen itself.

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In conclusion, we have compared the two case studies where the problem on Nias is to some extent the exact opposite of that on Bali. With the latter we are up against a society already largely destructured but which still possesses lively forces where the development of tourism conducted judiciously could eventually contribute to its revaluation; in the other, a flow of tourists that is too important runs the risk of causing a disequilibrium within a society which appears a *priori* to be still quite structured and resistent. This is to say, that Nias is in a infinitely more vulnerable situation than Bali. And if Bali forms a unique case in the archipelago, as much for its exceptional socio-cultural characteristics as the form and extent it meets the tourist phenomenon, then the numerous other Indonesian cultural minorities are in the same situation as Nias. Whether tourism's more or less negative role, but in all aspects ambivalent, will play a destructive or revitalising factor will depend ultimately on the capacities of each of the cultural minorities as well as on the guise and volume of tourism. One thing is certain: given the essentially cultural interest that Indonesia has to offer to the foreign visitor, it will be difficult to develop a mass tourism there centred on pleasure and luxury. This is at the same time the conundrum facing the developers responsible for the national economy and the chance for the archipelago's cultural minorities.

Notes

1. *Statistik Indonesia 1970/1971* Djakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1972, p.281. The expression "foreign guest" (*hôte étranger*) is a literal translation of the Indonesian *tamu asing*.
2. See the special dossier devoted to the problem of tourism by *Sudestasie* no.4, 1980, p.37.
3. *The First Five-Year Development Plan (1969/70-1973/74)* Djakarta, Department of Information, 1969, vol.2B, pp.168-180.
4. *Statistik Indonesia 1974/1975* Jakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1975, p.371 and also *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Kedua 1974/75-1978/79*, Jakarta, Depatemen Penerangan, 1974, Vol.II, p.387.

5. *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Kedua*, op.cit., p.387.
6. *Pokok Pokok Pemikiran Repelita IV* Jakarta, Direktorat Jenderal Parawisata, 1981, p.2.
7. *Ibid*, p.5.
8. *Indonesia News Bulletin*, Bern, Embassy of the Republic of Indonesia in Switzerland, II/1985, p.9.
9. *Statistik Kunjungan Tamu Asing 1983* Jakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1984, p.2, and *Indonesia News Bulletin* X/1984, p.5.
10. *Rencana Pembangunan Lima Tahun Keempat 1984/85-1988/89*, Jakarta, Departemen Penerangan, 1984, Vol.II, p.242.
11. Expression taken from the celebrated anticolonial novel of Multatuli, (E.Dowwes Dekker), *Max Havelaar*, Paris, Editions Universitaires, 1968, p.169.
12. *The First Five-Year Development Plan, op.cit.*, p.169.
13. On this subject see Hilda Geertz, "Indonesian cultures and communities" in Ruth T. McVey (ed) *Indonesia*, New Haven, HRAF Press, Survey of World Culture, 1963, pp.24-96.
14. An expression forged by the nationalists was "stretching from Sabang to Merauke". They claimed back the complete territory of the ancient colony of the Dutch Indies which extended from Sabang, a small town situated on the island of We to the extreme north of Sumatra, to Merauke, an area almost more important which is found in the extreme southeast of Irian Jaya (West Papua), very near the border with Papua New Guinea.
15. See in this context what is considered to be the best history of the Indonesian archipelago and is credited to the pen of Bernhard H.M. Vlekke, *Nusantara*, A history of Indonesia, The Hague, W.can Hoeve, 1960,p 479.
16. For more on these problems see the recent work by Alfian and Godwin, C. Chu (eds.) *Satellite television in Indonesia* Honolulu, East-West Center and LEKNAS/LIPI, 1981,p/211.
17. S. Takdir Alisjahbana, 'Southeast Asia: the melting pot of religions and culture', *Prisma*, 8, December 1977, pp.44-53.
18. *Statistik Kunjungan Tamu Asing 1983 op.cit.*, p.2.
19. *Ibid*.
20. *Indonesia Tourist Statistics 1975*, Jakarta, Directorate General of Tourism, 1976, p.2.
21. On the question of fashions in international tourism see the major work by Louis Turner 1975 and Jean-Luc Maurer, 1977.
22. In this case they are the following provinces: North Sumatra, West Sumatra, DKI Jakarta, West Java, Central Java, DI Yogyakarta, East Java, Bali, South Sulawesi, and North Sulawesi.

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23. For more details see: Jean-Luc Maurer, 1979 pp. 18-22.
24. *Ibid*, pp.39-47.
25. "One is always the minority of someone": says the old saying of popular wisdom.
26. The *Pancasila* are literally "the five principles" of Indonesian state ideology since the county's independence. On this complex and fascinating subject see in order of priority: Etudes Insulindiennes, *Pantjasila, Trente années de débat politique en Indonésia* Paris, Editions de la Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Etudes Insulindiennes/Archipel:2,1980, 427p.
27. For the demography see: *Statistik Indonesia 1984*, Jakarta, Biro Pusat Statistik, 1985, pp.64-65; and for the history: B.H.M.Vlekke, *Nusantara, op.cit.*
28. The expression "outer islands", first coined by the Dutch and taken over by the Indonesians, is significant in itself and denotes well the central focus and preponderance of Java in the archipelago.
29. For more details on the inter-ethnic relations, like many other aspects touching on the problems of differential perception due to the unequal weight of different national microcultures see: Jean-Luc Maurer, *Indonesia in* J.F.Billeter, G. Etienne and J.-L. Maurer, *Sociétés asiatiques: mutations et continuités* Chine-Inde-Indonésie, Paris, PUF, 1985, pp.59-95.
30. More detailed information on the problem of the differential perception between Bugis and Toraja can be found in: J.-L. Maurer, 1979:99-106.
31. On the accumulation of prestige linked to the fact of visiting the most exotic and out-of-the-way places see: J.-L. Maurer, 1977 pp.7-10.
32. These four criteria for the evaluation of the socio-economic and socio-cultural impact of tourism in Indonesia are taken from J.-L. Maurer, 1979:1-11.
33. According to *Sudestasie*, No.4, 1980, the total number of tourists in the world was 25 million in 1950, 71 million in 1960, 169 million in 1970, 213 million in 1975 and about 300 million in 1980. For the figures given on Bali tourism see: Emanuel de Kadt (ed), *Tourisme, passeport pour le développement?* Paris, Economica, BIRD/UNESCO, 1979, p.180 also W.D.McTaggart, "Bali, L'aménagement du territoire et ses perspectives (1975-2000)", *Les Cahiers d'Outremer* No.137, January-March 1982, p.29.
34. We are dealing not only with foreign tourists but also to a considerable extent, domestic tourists.
35. Jean-Luc Maurer, 1979:13.
36. *Ibid* p.34.
37. This plan has been financed by PNUD with BIRD implementing it. It has been entrusted to SCETO, the French consultant firm, which in 1971 deli-

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vered to the Indonesian government its report entitled: *Bali Tourism Studies*, vol.6, Paris, PNUD. On this subject see also: E. de Kadt, *Tourisme passeport pour le developpement? op.cit.* p.174.

38. In 1976 before the initiation of Nusa Dua, the whole island had 3,902 rooms. See *Indonesia: an official handbook*, Jakarta, Department of Information, 1979.
39. The influence of the German painter and musician W. Spiess is one of the best known: he organised the first *kecak* dance (the dance of the monkeys) which today forms part of the Balinese heritage. We must also mention the Dutch painter Bonnet, who played a large part in the development of the Ubad school of painting as did the Mexican writer-painter-anthropologist Covarrubias, author of the famous work *Island of Bali*, Singapore, Oxford University Press, Oxford, in Asia Historical Repoints, 1974, 405p. photographs.
40. Contrary to the Toraja feasts of the dead, where images have been organised, sacrificed cattle paid for by a tour operator for the tourists' pleasure.
41. Bali is known as the "island of the gods" and the publicity advertises it in these terms. But according to the monthly publication of photos cited in the next note, it appears that Nias is in fact just this! Perhaps there are also others. In an archipelago with more the 13,000 islands, this would not be surprising!
42. We can cite Mabel Cook Cole, with her article in the *National Geographic Magazine* en 1931; Paul Wirz whose articles appeared in *Die Kralle* Berlin, 1928, *Die Garbe* Basil 1928 and has published a collection of photos *Nias Die Insel Der Götzen*, Orell fussli, Zurich, 1929, F.M.Schnitger published in *Illustrated London News* in 1939. These are some examples of publications in magazines with a wide readership by authors who otherwise published in scientific journals.
43. Man Ray, for example, had many in his collection.
44. *Far Eastern Economic Review*, February 7, 1985, p.66.
45. These exercises were previously practised by young warriors to enable them to jump over the bamboo palisades which surrounded the villages. These pyramids are in fact military training installations.
46. The "Prinsendam" after sinking off the coast of Alaska, was replaced in 1982 by the "Pearl of Scandinavia" which made cruises in alternation with the "MS Mahsuri".
47. This is certainly confirmed by the history of the three regions where the south appears as the most powerful and also explains the marked animosity there still exists among the people from the centre towards those of the south who came to hunt heads and slaves in their territory.

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48. "The" route which unites the capital Gunung Sitoli to the south was only constructed in 1984 as part of a programme of road communications improvement in Sumatra, financed by BIRD. Apart from this there are a few local sections in the south and around Gunung Sitoli.
49. There is no industry or any export crops apart from a little 'copra' - which is gradually being supplanted by palm oil in the Indonesian plan - and patchouli where cultivation is ruined by the soil. Dietary self-sufficiency, which is not met by rice is only just met through manioc and sweet potato.

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And Why Don't You Go To The Seychelles?

By Asun Garcia

A tourist agency, February 1985:

Client – Good morning, could you give me some information about trips to Sri Lanka?

Agent – Here we are, Sir (smiling but without speaking he hands over a brochure).

Client – What I would really like to know is if there is any danger there because of the political situation?

Agent – Don't worry, in the first place the disturbances haven't reached the resort areas and furthermore, our facilities are perfectly geared to caring for our clients in such a way that they do not get involved in what is happening around them.

Client – But are you sure it's not dangerous?

Agent – If you're really worried, why don't you go to the Seychelles? This month we have them on offer.

This article intends to show how the traditional tourist, (1) abetted by a series of webs spun around his trip, is able to visit a particular country and return home again without noticing any of its important realities. In other words, a tourist can "tour" a country inside a sort of "bubble" because of certain facilities and structures which provide almost complete protecion from outside influences. These facilities and structures are fundamental to isolating the tourist. They come about through an agreement between certain social classes within the host country – which are interested in the many benefits which tourism brings – and the tourist industry of the generating countries.

Tourists can live in almost complete ignorance of the negative aspects of the immediate world specially created for them, a world which has often developed out of the existence of the tourism itself. This isolation comes about through the opportunities which those in privileged positions have (politicians, economists, men of religion, etc.) to generate and administrate myths in order to achieve diverse ends. In the concrete case of tourism, one part of the economic élite – the tourist industry – creates a myth about the country or uses existing myths held in western societies (2) to make money.

This is not a new theme. Since the 1970s sociologists and ethnologists have been taking an increasing interest in tourism, However – and far from wanting to detract from the value of the work done – within these disciplines tourism is

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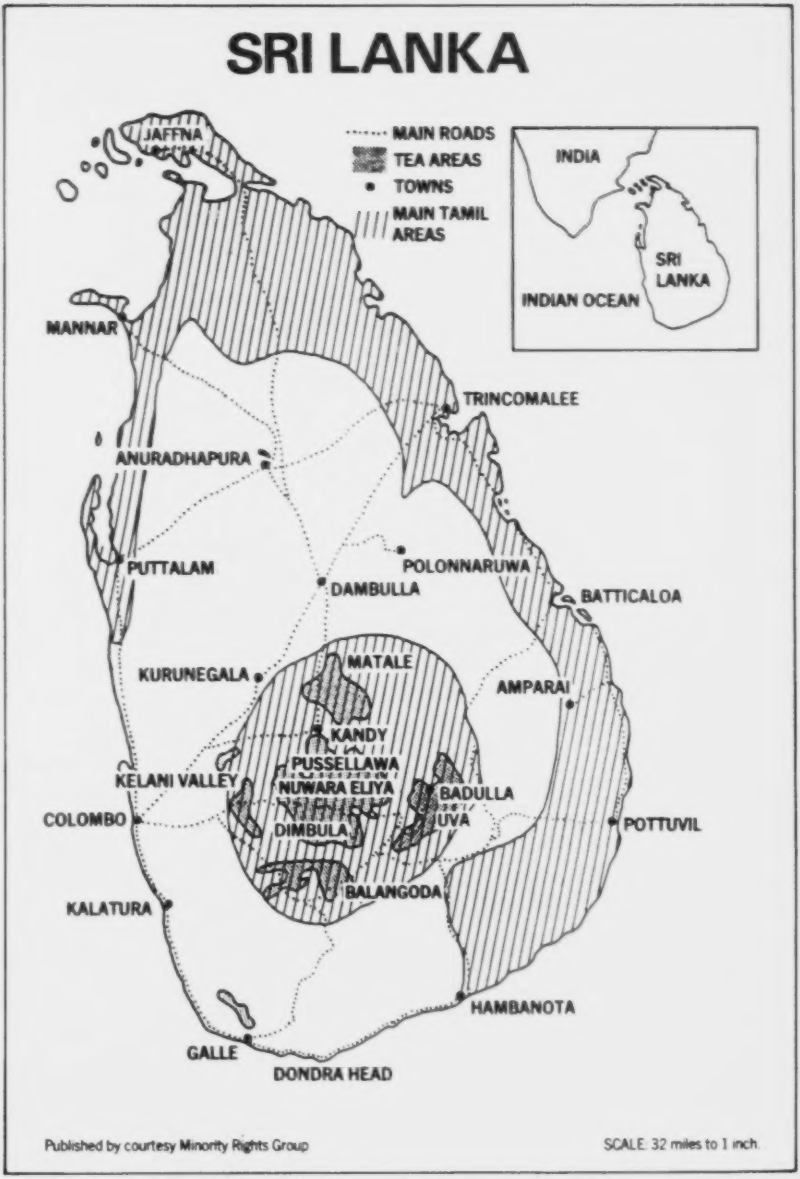

Sri Lanka.

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treated in a particularly general way and within the limits of scientific publications which rarely reach the hands of the greater part of the population involved in "traditional" tourism. Our intention is to treat the theme in a simple way, making it geographically specific, so that it will reach the greatest number of people. We have chosen Sri Lanka for two reasons. On the one hand the island has quite recently become one of the most popular destinations for long distance travellers. Tourism has been increasing steadily and reached half a million visitors in 1983 who "left behind" $200,000,000 (3). On the other hand, the country has a wide range of political and social problems.

To begin with, and in order to give a better understanding of the hypothesis put forward in this paper, we will present an analysis of the essence of myth, its social function and the mechanisms which permit the belief in its unreality. At the same time we will define a concept which interacts with myth: exoticism. In addition we will show briefly how the myths of the tourist industry are generated and administrated, and finally demonstrate how this mechanism functions in Sri Lanka.

To define 'myth' is quite difficult in that the definition depends on the perspective from which we consider the concept. The word is derived from the Greek *mythos*; the Larouse dictionary defines it generally as: "a fictitious story which, in the form of a legend, takes on symbolic and above all cosmological significance and put in context with the gods."

Different disciplines have tried to analyse the essence and determine the function of myth, including sociology, philosophy, ethnology and psychology. Ethnologists and sociologists put it primarily in the realm of religion. Initially the evolutionists of the last century (Spencer, Taylor and Frazer) considered that a myth was no more than an explanation of the world by those they considered "primitive". That is to say, the expression of an intellectual force corresponding to an embryonic intellect. The evolutionists, characterised by a great Western ethnocentricity, assessed the "primitive" mind as pre-rational in contraposition to the scientific mind of "civilised" peoples. Consequently - the defenders of this stream of thought postulate - myths diminish in direct relation to a culture's degree of "civilisation" until the point where they are not found. Evolutionism is content to study the origins and the construction of the myth without paying any attention to its social implications.

The first analyses of the social function of myth come to us from the subsequent functionalists (Durkheim and Malinowski). The latter believed that myth had a double function: on one hand it served to affirm and legitimise the social status-quo while on the other, and in times of crisis, it could develop the necessary potential to surpass the prevailing system (Malinowski, 1948). The func-

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tionalists gave us the idea that myth is universal, a phenomenon that exists in all types of society independent of the level of scientific development. Malinowski confirms that myth serves to fulfill a universal human need and is, just as religion is, indispensible. Furthermore, is it necessary for the perpetuation of the social process (Malinowski, ibid). For the Marxists, the essence of myth consists in a false perception of determined realities, in a distorted reflection of real things. (4) Myths are created or used in order to compensate for the bitterness of a contradictory and oppressive reality in societies where there is already a ruling class. Within psychology the explanations of Freud and Jung deserve special attention. For the former, myth is to society what the dream is to the individual. In other words, a myth is a collective dream of a human group in that it reflects its desires. Jung also links myth with dreams and considers that myth is a manifestation of the unconscious. All these authors emphasise important aspects of myth; however, they do not give due attention to other equally relevant aspects.

In the first place, myth does not only belong only to a magico-religious sphere but there is also what Bindey (1950) terms "secular myths". This type of myth is gradually substituting the magico-religious myth in so-called non-scientific societies, some of which become permanent. Consequently, and in accordance with the functionalists, myth exists in all types of society. Each human group creates myths which correspond to its society's specifications. According to Sproul (1979:7) as the elements of society and the attitudes generated by it change, new myths appear which replace those which are no longer rational. These new secular myths fullfil the same function as earlier perceptions or false explanations of the reality. Nevertheless, whether secular or magico-religious, a myth is not a lie, because it contains, or is based in, real elements. The Marxists say that myth encompasses the real and the illusory. Certain aspects of reality are selected for mythification. This filtering can be – contrary to Jung's opinion – conscious or unconscious. An example of conscious filtering is those myths made by the élite (politicians, economists, churchmen..), interested in promoting themselves. An example of this would be élite racist politicians who propagate the myth of the superiority of the white race.

Why – we can ask now – do groups of people who rely on possibilities of analysing the world, continue to create myths and believe in those which are already in circulation? To our way of seeing things, and combining certain aspects of the different theories, the creation of myth corresponds, on the one hand, to determined interests. On the other hand, the formation of new myths and the belief in those which circulate raise different issues. It is these issues which lead us to analyse the function of myth.

Human beings need to sweeten what can often be a bitter reality. To do this they project their dreams onto reality in order to live them and thus create a myth, or else they accept existing mythical realities. On the other hand, they have aesthetic needs which reality does not always cater for. Myth permits, according to Gadamer (1970), the "shaping of different elements of nature and society into an unconscious aesthetic model." Furthermore, and following Gusdorf (1984:83), myth stops certain questions being asked because it has already supplied the answers. In brief, and according to the same author (1970:67) myth "... has the function of making life possible. It gives societies a foundation and permits them to last." This explanation and belief in myth has in itself an almost biological function: it supposes that the human brain uses myth as a strategy when it does not want to perceive certain realities.

Finally there is the question of whether societies are capable of exposing their myths. Bidney (1952:8) following on from Malinowski, suggests that man can distinguish between myth, reality and fiction. "To my way of thinking, a human being is eventually able to discover mythical unreality, in this case if she/he continues to believe in a determined myth then the belief in it is voluntary, deliberate...." Nevertheless, and in accordance with Sproul (1979:4), it appears that societies are so submerged in their myths that the "unreal" aspect of them is only rarely perceived, despite however being able to recognise other groups' myths.

In the light of this, myth may be defined as a way of understanding and interpreting the world created by the members of a determined society or by its élite. The members of the society or group are divided by means of a conscious or unconscious belief in the myth which is principally expressed orally and circulated among them.

The second concept concerning us here, exoticism, is a word derived from the Greek *exoticos*: it refers to the outside. The concept has been badly and little understood. The most usual definition taken from the Larousse dictionary is :"the character of all that is conjured up by customs and people or scenery of foreign or distant countries". In its most concrete form exoticism is the totality of the images we have when we think of or have contact with foreign and far-off countries. It is a western projection onto particular places which lets us see their diversity as *a priori* positive and converts it into something attractive and desirable. Exoticism sparks off a series of emotions especially fascination and strong attraction. This fascination or attraction towards a country often has the effect (at least initially) of reducting one's capacity for analysing the realities. Exoticism and myth are two interrelated concepts which are difficult to separate. The one acts on the other.

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The Tourist Industry: the creation and administration of Myths

To achieve its objective of encouraging as many people as possible to take a tour, the tourist industry uses myth and exoticism - and anyway, most travellers have little inclination to know the details of the reality of the country "offered". In some instances this lack of interest is completely rational and conscious: the person selects what he wants to understand about a country. We have all often heard phrases such as, "I am on holiday and don't want to hear about problems". In other cases, as we have already mentioned in our consideration of myth, it consists more of an unconscious fear of shattering the false picture which allows us to live a dream.

The first step is to arouse the public and engender a fascination for a particular region which motivates them to make a trip there. That is to say, it creates, reinforces and administers a myth whose exotic component generates the fascination which is meant to be seen in a real and conscious way. Because, generally, these countries have sides to them which could clash with the exotic aspect, a process of selection, organisation and transformation of the merchandise is put to work.

Often the potential client has already a mythicised picture of certain places which has been formed on the one hand by industries not directly related to tourism: books, photographs, fashion...etc. which have found an important source of revenue in the generation and administration of geographical myths; and on the other hand through means of social communication. Barely a day passes without coming across images of remote countries mythicised to one degree or another: shop window displays offer a wide range of artisan goods, shelves parade endless books about different distant worlds, a visit to the cinema transports us to similar places, television programmes show life and costumes in a "real" way - these are but a few examples. Therefore to "flog" his offer, the tourist agent is set on matching the existing image.

The first step in this process is by audio visual methods: posters, slides, brochures, short film clips, background music, the retailers' information. Once the client has made the first move towards a trip the process changes to the country to be visited. Here certain realities are minimised and also excluded, others which have already disappeared are revived and are all presented in a theatrical scenario, in some cases with the addition of new elements. The result is that the tourist is transported through a country which he sees in a partially false way. He returns convinced of having "done" the country but in fact scarcely knows it. The term "done" is firmly entrenched in the travelling vocabulary, sweeping aside terms such as "travelled in", "visited", "gone to", with the object of describing a mode of travel but which does not go into the broad semantics of

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the other terms. To "do" a country means to visit it and travel in it in an efficient way, i.e. to get to know the most colourful aspects of it – and what is most important, "participating" in the life of it! And all this in what is rarely more than two weeks.

Sri Lanka, the "glittering land" (tourist brochure 1988).

Something that catches my attention is someone who says they have "done" such and such a country as if by using this word they have captured part of it. In brief, those who have "done" a country set themselves apart from those who have travelled in or visited a certain region; the former feel they have "lived" the object of their journey which, as we saw, gives them a kind of right to possess it.

The Mythification of Sri Lanka

The first step in making the public's fascination real is extremely easy. Sri Lanka's exoticism and myth already exist in the minds of the majority of the public and thus have a historical dimension. It is not a case of trying to reinforce a particular image or of forming a new one. Sri Lanka has been recognised as an exotic and mythical country for many centuries. The Greek historians spoke of a marvellous island which was like a garden of Eden, a lost paradise. Even in that remote period, their accounts gave rise to an expedition. With the invasion and

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annexing of the country by the Portuguese crown in the 16th century, the West became fully aware of the "Island of Spices".

The commercial activities of the Dutch and the British, who successively replaced the Portuguese, kept the image of a paradisical island alive. The "lost Eden" image came when the British introduced tea cultivation in the 19th century. During this century many accounts of travels and more or less scientific works were written which filled the island with terrible demons, idyllic landscapes, fantastic feasts, etc. making its halo of exoticism yet more tangible.

In the second half of the 1940s enormous quantities of DDT were used to eradicate malaria and this eliminated the main element disturbing the picture of paradise.

All the tourist industry had to do was simply make this exoticism as up to date as possible. For the best "sale" of his "merchandise" the tourist agent adds two elements to the exoticism and myth which are very important for tourists today: culture and relaxation. To travel to Sri Lanka doesn't only involve sunning oneself on a wonderful beach, but it contributes to one's own cultural enrichment. In a period when tourism has come under criticism, the tourists want to do something that they have only done little of up until this point: they want to learn something. We want to emphasise that in places where it is impossible to add a cultural component it is replaced by another type of concrete activity such as a sport or a hobby. The exotic, cultural and relaxing images of Sri Lanka combine to give it the image of a "paradise lost" according to the modern conception of the term. From an analysis of a range of available brochures and pictures we can distinguish the following images which correspond to one or more of the concepts in play.

For aural images we have not only the tourist agents' own explanations but the commentaries which accompany the public film and slide shows and the texts which appear in the tourist brochures which are graphic versions of the former. (5) On the one hand we have the different grammatical constructions used as synonyms of Sri Lanka. The most common are:

1. Land of Harmony and Perfect Smiles
2. Land of Smiles
3. Tropical Garden
4. Island of Jewels
5. Land of Explosive Beauty
6. Land of the Lotus and the Sapphire
7. India's Pearl
8. Robinson's Isle
9. Dream Island

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10. Different plays on words using "Eden" and "paradise": Earthly paradise; Garden of Eden; Ceylon, where one believes in paradise...etc.
11. Different translations of the name "Sri Lanka" which take on different aspects depending on the desired effect. I have come across the following, among others: land of impressive beauty; the happy island; radiant country.

In 1972 the name Ceylon was replaced by Sri Lanka because the former was considered too closely linked with its colonial past. In fact "Sri" is synonymous with Lakhismi, the Hindu god of wealth and beauty. This was combined with "Lanka" an old name for the island which in fact means radiance and appears in Ramayana, one of the two great Hindu epics.

In the beginning the clients generally notice the images provided in the publicity material: films, brochures, maps, etc., which motivate them to go to the travel agent. The function of the agent is to reinforce verbally all that has been presented so far. To do this the agent will weigh up the phrases used in the aural material and explain exactly the contents of the images used in the visual material. So the process of selection, organisation and transformation consolidates the images presented through aural and visual means. At the mention of particular inconveniences due to the political instability of the country, the reply in most agencies visited was "we will look after things so that you don't notice anything. If the situation should look like becoming dangerous we will postpone the trip". This means that the tourist's selective isolation, the "you won't notice anything", is sold as a desirable aspect by the tourist agent. On the other hand, the "you can put yourself entirely in the hands of the agency" assurance that is so warmly and regularly given may eventually mean that the tourist takes him at his word and perhaps loses his interest and curiosity. However, I found out that what constitutes a "real danger" is quite arbitrary. Some tour operators have stopped their trips to Sri Lanka because of the deterioration of the inter-ethnic situation into almost a civil war between the Tamils and the Sinhalese. Nevertheless, others continue to promote holidays there. These agencies consider that the armed conflict is limited to certain areas, areas which have disappeared from their brochures – a fatal mistake in the light of the incidents in and around the capital Colombo during May and June 1984.

Once the preparations for a trip are underway a whole mechanism is started which is linked with the network in Sri Lanka. This network exists thanks to a particular sector of the population which is interested in developing tourism within the country. It must be remembered that a considerable proportion of the inhabitants see tourism as the panacea for all their economic ills. This positive attitude to tourism has been instilled by those directly interested in it for economic motives, mainly through different official bodies such as the Ceylon Tourist Board and also the government itself. These bodies have often run cam-

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paigns designed to project and even exaggerate the positive aspects brought by tourist development.

The majority of the population has been convinced that tourism is *a priori* a good thing because they are not always accustomed to analysing the decisions and reasoning from "above" and are dazzled by promises of prosperity which the future of tourism in Sri Lanka rests on. Here we must mention that, as has already happened in other countries in the process of heavily indebted development, international financial institutions such as the World Bank encourage the Sri Lankan government to make ambitious plans for tourism with a view to improving their balance of payments.

As has happened in other places, the word "tourist" has taken on the connotation of "good", "nice" and, above all, "developed" which is what the majority of the inhabitants of the Third World aspire to. In Sri Lanka today "tourist" and "developed" are two antagonistic concepts. In order to keep the designation "tourist spot", the population has often to work together to build the pertinent infrastructure. Nevertheless, there has been some criticism, for example from parents who have lost their authority over their young children. The latter say that they get more benefits from contact with tourists than working hard for their parents. On the ground, this collaboration is quite unwitting and therefore we lack objective information about the net benefits of tourism and an awareness of its social costs. (6) Sometimes the Sri Lankans become victims in a real disinformation campaign, set up by those intent on preserving their personal benefits from tourism. But we do not blame the island's inhabitants for being gullible; the visual effects signify "development" and are usually linked to the idea of tourist promotion and these make impressions: protected gardens in places of interest, airports, huge planes, (partially) improved means of transport and roads, luxury shops, consumer goods previously unknown...it fosters the idea that one day everyone will be able to enjoy the prosperity the images represent. Few question whether the enormous sums of money put into the development of tourism would not have had quicker results and reached more people if they had been directed towards, for example, agriculture or local industries. Unfortunately we do not have exact figures to enable us to pass judgement but we can confirm however that the island's tourist development, begun in 1965, has deceived even its staunchest defenders with regard to its economic benefits. If we look at some statistics and the history we can get an idea of the reality.

In 1965 a school for hotel catering and management was opened as the first step in a real tourism policy. In 1966 the official tourist office, the "Ceylon Tourist Board", was established to promote and create an infrastructure for tourism. The following year, with help from the U.S.A., a study was carried out

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to formulate a tourist plan which would extend from 1967 to 1976. With the passing of the "Tourism Development Act" in 1968 determining which coastal areas should be transformed into health resorts and setting out means for attracting foreign investors, the future of tourism in Sri Lanka was planned. But forecasts for the ten year plan were too high for both the number of tourists and the predicted returns. Thus, in 1979, according to figures from the "Ceylon Tourist Board", there were 119,000 arrivals instead of the 307,000 predicted. The gross income was $28,246,000 instead of the $62,000,000 predicted. However, the "tourist miracle" continued and reached a rate of increase of 20 per cent. The first change came in 1982 with the European recession. Then catastrophe struck in 1983 with the first bloody confrontations between the Tamils and the Sinhalese, the first of a series which still continues today. The tourism recession will continue despite steps taken by companies and concerns within the tourist industry. In 1985 the decrease was 21 per cent. (7)

Another precautionary measure taken was to try to fight unemployment effectively. Nevertheless in 1979, only 43,409 people were employed in the tourist sector and of those only 18,427 permanently, the majority were thus only temporary workers. In 1980 it was calculated that the cost of employing someone in this sector was $4,650; in a small businesses it would have been $148 while in the manufacturing industry $2,970 (cf. Inforasie no.21 1982).

The mechanism that was set in action when the client first paused to consider a tour now continues to put the final touches to the scene before his arrival. We must not forget that in current tourist trade jargon the agent "sells" tourist destinations. So we hear for example that "Bentota is selling badly but Hikaduwa is selling better." The tourist, while packing his suitcases, thinks about "his island". It is "his" because he has bought it and moreover it was matched to his specifications. The island acquired is a place tailored to suit the client.

- Dream-like landscapes.

- Warm and friendly inhabitants who think only of satisfying your smallest wish.

- Ancient culture. Here we should emphasise that the tourist is more often interested in the history than the present because the artistic remains of the past are silent and do not force him to take a stance, they do not demand decisions.

- Furthermore, "because we are at your disposal to cater for your smallest desires" (sic. tourist brochure) often the only relation the tourist has with the indigenous people is with hotel employees.

- And finally, the dream of a "certain type" of adventure...which although at present is not the hallmark of tourism in Sri Lanka, as is the case in the Philippines or Thailand, it is a phenomenon which is beginning to filter in.

Any tour operator with a social conscience will also "sell" the idea, though

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often mentioned only in passing, that there are social and racial problems in the country. (8) But this is under-emphasised. Furthermore our society gives us enough easy answers to these problems which help to drug many consciences. For example:

- "Yes, I know, that's the price you have to pay for development."
- "It's because they still don't know how to govern alone."
- "Why be surprised, this is what it's like in the Third World."

Sometimes the bought package includes the idea that tourism helps the understanding of the peoples by destroying prejudices, that it is an activity which helps development, the preservation of the culture and the protection of the environment. Such ideas are not just thought-up and fostered by the tourist industry but also through social communication, including certain kinds of scientific literature which deals with this theme. Tourists, therefore, set off to "their place" with the idea that they are some kind of do-gooders for it and for humanity in general, unaware that racism as much as prejudice have increased in direct relation with the increase in tourism (cf. Rossel, 1984). Different studies, above all in the United States, have come to this conclusion, one which I tried to establish through conversations with people from the Third World. In the latter case the prejudice may be taken as real because of having been "lived". It is difficult to argue against such statements as: "The Tamils are dirty, you need only look at the shit in the streets" or, "I don't deny they're lazy, it seems to me...". Why do political and social explanations bounce back off the wall of incomprehension that has been built up through personal experience which renders it the absolute truth. This increase in prejudice is logical because the tourist and indigenous person always meet in distorted settings - in general, the one as the rich visitor and the other as the servant and exotic object. Except for the visiter who chooses accommodation within a family, the only indigenous people the tourist meets are generally those employed by the hotel, the souvenir vendors and the tourist agency employees. The visitor relaxes, the others work. Moreover most trips are short, one to three weeks stay with a busy programme for different areas, which prevents each party forming a concrete idea about the other even when the interest is there. Furthermore there is a considerable language barrier, only the middle and upper classes sufficiently master English, and few speak other Western languages. And who doesn't recognise the phrase, "how are we going to understand?

Development aid is a problematic question. On the one hand, an important part of the money from tourism is paid out again to the West for various imports that tourism demands. On the other hand, there is a large capital input into building the tourism infrastructure, much of which the country does not need: airports, hotels, transport. According to information supplied by the national

tourist agency, it promotes the use of local products, above all in the construction and furnishing of hotels, but nevertheless the Central Bank states that 90 per cent of the materials used originate from foreign countries (cf. Inforasie no.21 1982). To these expenses we can add those from tourist promotion abroad: brochures, agencies etc. The same Bank estimates that the net profits do not exceed 59 per cent of the gross expenditure. Almost all these benefits go into the hands of a small indigenous economic élite and the foreign investors who enjoy the government's generosity: tax exemption for the first 5 years and a reduction of 5 per cent for the following 15 years, not to mention innumerable customs benefits. Just like the investors, these élites have little interest in ploughing the profits back into regional development of the country.

The "preserved" culture has lost it content – with certain exceptions – and become a performance adapted to suit the needs and desires of the visitor. Take, for example, certain ritual dances which are put on in two hotels, regardless of traditional locations and dates.

Now we shall look at what tourists do not know or cannot see, what they have missed by concentrating only on tourist brochure information and staying inside the "bubble" created for them, and by not considering a wider and more serious literature on the island. But first we must emphasise that the information presented in the tourist brochures is usually lamentably incomplete and sometimes also wrong. For example in one of these publications we are told that: "the tropical island of the Indian Ocean is one of the favourite tourist spots in the Far East – kilometres of beaches bordered by palms trees, wide plains, hills with green tea plantations, fascinating evidence of a very ancient culture." Further on and under the heading "What you ought to know" the following points are dealt with: conditions for entering the country, vaccinations, foreign exchange, electric current, distances to the airport, language, hotel service. In another brochure we read: "Sri Lanka, a name with a promise that the wonderful island in the Indian Ocean whose marvelous beaches will bring you the treasure of an ancient culture, the warmth of its people and the exotic landscapes."

Does the tour operator think his client need only hear poetic phrases and some concessions towards his personal wellbeing? Does he perhaps doubt his clients' faculty for understanding serious and real information? An argument I have heard in defence of tourist trade employees is that a brochure is not a book of geography, politics or anthropology. I quite agree, but considering the amounts of money invested in one of these brochures, surely one single informative paragraph would not be excessive. The proof of this is that I have found some literature in which geographical and cultural information is given at the same time as mentioning some of the political and social problems. Although very succinct, it was enough to awaken the curiosity of those potentially con-

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cerned. For example: "the cultural wealth" an agency informs us in its publication, "contrasts with the economic problems and poverty of part of the population. This has developed into a demographic explosion and tense situation between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil population." The same company allocated the subsequent pages to historical information in order to present its itinerary around the island. When I presented myself as a possible client at the counter of an agency I was given not only the brochure but also a small amount of extremely interesting literature. Unfortunately these examples form a minority. In view of this shortage, tourists who do not look any further lack the most basic geographical and social information from the moment they leave their own country, such as that Sri Lanka is 65,610 sq.km., its population is around 15 million inhabitants; that this pluri-ethnic population composes Sinhalese (74 per cent) Sri Lankan Tamils (12.6 per cent), Indian Tamils (5.5 per cent) (according to statistics from the Ceylon Tourist Board), Moros – Islamic inhabitants with different origins, Malayos – descendants of soldiers brought from Malaysia by the British administration, "Burgers" – descendants from marriages between Sri Lankan and Dutch or Portuguese. The three last groups compose 7 per cent of the population and the Vedda, the first inhabitants of Dravidic origin number approximately 2,000 persons. The tourist does not know that the predominant religion in Buddhism (69 per cent) followed by Hinduism (15.4 per cent) and Christianity and Islam (7.5 per cent respectively); that it is a country where the caste system still has a certain importance and even within Buddhism, a religion which traditionally preaches against such a system; that it is principally an agricultural country and that 30 per cent of the land is given over to agriculture, its principal products being: rubber, cocoa and tea; that only a minority of the population are exclusively involved in the fishing trade; that it is one of the poorest countries in the world with an average GNP of $250 per person per year and that 30 per cent of the GNP is distributed between 10 per cent of the population and that the poorest 30 per cent receive only 7 per cent; that it has a literacy rate of 86.5 per cent which is the highest in Asia.

However, on his return, the tourist who has not been interested enough to find other sources of information will have probably covered some of the geographical and cultural gaps in a limited way but not have discovered what is hidden behind the dream image. And on the other side of the coin we find a series of problems which we will divide up as follows:

Problems Derived Directly from Tourism

Here we will distinguish between problems originating from the mere presence of visitors without their direct interference and those resulting from their be-

Busy street in Colombo.

haviour. In the first group we can put the rise in the cost of living. Unfortunately we do not have any exact figures, but we can certainly confirm that the exorbitant prices paid by tourists has resulted in a general increase in the cost of living which makes it impossible for part of the population to acquire goods and services which were previously available to them. For example, certain types of fish have disappeared from the diet in less wealthy families. Another of the problems here is the impoverishment of the inhabitants of particular areas in favour of the visitors' comfort. I have experienced this twice: on one occasion a group of fishermen were not allowed to stay on the beach where they normally sat and sorted out their equipment during certain hours of the day because apparently some tourists felt they were being watched. The second case was of children who were deprived of their favourite playing area - around the beach. Their parents felt that the children would be harmed and insulted by the near nakedness of the tourists who displayed themselves along the Sri Lankan coasts deliberately ignoring the strict prohibitions in force. Some tourists completely disregard these laws because certain tourist brochures say that in Sri Lanka there are "no regulations governing dress" an expression which lends itself to multiple interpretations.

A third problem of the same type is that some people, attracted by the wealth the tourist industry promises, carry out servile work far below that permitted by the principles regulating behaviour within their caste. On their return to their own people they are often treated with contempt.

Among the problems caused by the direct actions of the tourists one is especially sad: the promotion of juvenile homosexual prostitution caused by the demand from visiting paedophiles. Over the last ten years, and in line with the development of tourism, Sri Lanka has become one of the world centres for paedophile tourism. In 1983 it is estimated that some 2,000 minors between the ages of 7 and 16 prostituted themselves around the tourist centres. This figure corresponds with a quadrupling of paedophile tourists. It is not unusual for a Western tourist to be trailed along the streets of Colombo by an adolescent, or even a child, asking: "You like me? You want me?"

The meeting between paedophile tourist and young prostitute is often already organised before the trip begins through magazines and different contacts; for example the magazine "Espartacus" aimed at the homosexual public, published in Amsterdam but on sale in various countries. In an article especially edited by this magazine for the use of tourists, places were listed where casual "male partners" could be found. It also mentioned in a codified language recognizable to homosexuals to which hotels these partners could be taken without danger...not to mention other useful advice.

Why do young people prostitute themselves in a country which, despite its

poverty, in fact enjoys an almost favourable economic and social situation in relation to other developing countries? (For example sanitation and schooling are among the best.) First of all it is done for money. While this may be no more than 50 cents per service it can be an important amount for youths from the lowest strata of the population. However, it seems that the main attraction lies in the promises made by clients to take them back to their own country and also the possibility of increasing their earnings by robbing clients of something valuable. This happens regularly. Apart from all the things which the Sri Lankans consider luxuries and see daily through their prostitution, whether brought by the tourists or inside the buildings set aside for them, the population has seen their country almost overrun by luxury articles thanks to the liberal economic policy of President Jayawardene. So it is not surprising that the desire to possess some of these objects leads some young people into currently "illicit" acts. In the same way, although on a smaller scale, female prostitution is beginning to reach disturbing levels.

Tourism has quite clearly contributed to the blossoming of the market in babies. This is a case of materialised exoticism. Tourists, in their desire to take home as much as possible of the exotic (photographs, souvenirs, etc.) and motivated sometimes by good will, and unaware of what is happening behind the scenes, sometimes decide to adopt a child. In Europe we sometimes see photos of babies from the Third World, mostly in the press, which we are begged to help through either a contribution or adoption. In the case of adoption we are dealing with the propaganda of large companies specialised in the lucrative trading of very young children. The images which we are given are designed to make us feel charitable. In spite of the efforts of serious organisations and some sectors of the press, the information about the real origin and circumstances of birth of the babies "offered" is not, in my opinion, sufficient. Sri Lanka has one of the main world centres for the sale of babies. As soon as the tourist arrives there the invitations to make an act of "charity" are numerous, as we have seen in other sections of this paper. Even tourists not interested in adopting themselves can contribute to it with the stories they take home so that a couple who do not want the bother of an official adoption may decide to go personally to the island. Because the quantity of adoptable children does not meet the demand, a real "mass production" industry of babies has developed. One of the most denigrating methods is the creation of baby farms. The people implicated in the business, often high officials and lawyers who procure a "legal" adoption, offer a certain quantity of money to women to conceive a child deliberately and, after its birth, hand it over for adoption. This method is so widespread that even the taxi drivers are able to inform anyone interested where and how to obtain the "wares", and they receive a percentage.

Another system, mostly used by hospital employees with neither scruples nor professional ethics, is to abuse a woman in childbirth who is disadvantaged, for example a single mother, a woman with too many children or another such problem. They propose a solution to their problems which has with it an economic benefit, a benefit of around $50. The hospital employee then immediately passes the baby on to an adoption agency, charging a sizeable sum. The latter, finally, "sells" the baby for about $6,000. One supposes that employees with even less scruples limit themselves to saying to the mother that the child has died when in reality it has been passed on for adoption. The countries which benefit most from this type of business are the Federal Republic of Germany, Holland and Switzerland. In 1984 in Switzerland a centre for the adoption of babies was discovered in which some nurses employed in development aid were involved..... It is interesting to note that the above mentioned countries constitute a high percentage of total visitors to Sri Lanka. Mere coincidence? No, the relation between tourism and the baby business is confirmed given that some of the agencies implicated in the business actually organise "baby" excursions to Sri Lanka (cf. Spiegel 28, 1982) where, among the palm trees and pagodas, adoptive parents choose their future child.

Again the irresponsibility has come about as a result of an enormous increase in the amount of begging around the tourist resorts and the areas visited by tourists. The visitor, motivated by what seems to me a thoughtless "good will", frequently shows an exaggerated generosity. As simply extending an arm is seen to be more lucrative than heavy work under the hot sun, an increasing number of people are totally or partly abandoning their obligations and turning to begging. The most serious case is that of child beggars. The affectionate treatment and the excessive generosity towards the child population (invitations to eat, gifts, etc.) has given them needs that the family cannot provide. Children, in their desire to continue in a type of dream world, increasingly frequent the tourists centres and, little by little, abandon their family obligations. Their gains (in money or in "kind") and their way of life around the resort work together to produce a little understood pride which rejects the inferior earnings of their parents. As a result, relations within the family network deteriorate. This is not mere theory. Parents often complain of such situations. In the family where I stayed the parents absolutely forbade their daughters to keep company with "unknown" tourists, and relations of the family told us to refuse any kind of invitation or gift.

Those who work or live within the tourist enclaves, and especially youths, imitate certain tourists' use of drugs and alcohol. Furthermore, sometimes the visitors' behaviour does not conform to the social and moral norms of the country and the young copy them, especially in certain aspects of dress and male-

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female relations. The result is a disorientation from their own values which again leads to serious tensions within the family and social group.

Problems concerning the "essence" of the country

The most important problems are those related to the economic situation and to the racial tension between the Sinhalese majority and the Tamil minority which has now reached a critical stage: an economy undermined by colonialism and an inadequate post-colonial policy which does not produce enough to feed the population properly; racial disturbances which move more and more towards a real civil war.

All these problems injure the paradisiacal "pearl of India" image. And so they must be kept out of the tourist's path. A new process of adaption and transformation has started. The scene is being set.

The first measure is to isolate the tourist physically, which in practice means to accommodate him in the tourist resorts' luxury hotels. These hotels offer isolation as part of their service: the lack of contact with the population is seen as contributing to the tourists' comfort, and furthermore it allows them to continue with certain habits banned by the local authorities such as nudism. Here we find the colonial aspect which envelops tourism in the Third World. The visitor is not always obliged to adapt to the local customs and laws and there is an attempt to silence them by the force of their own customs. Resting happy in the knowledge of the "enormous sums" they leave behind in the country, they think they can force the population to give in to their caprices. The following phrases abound in the tourist brochures:

"A wall protects you from indiscrete gazes."

"Our bungalows permit an intimate and retiring lifestyle."

". recommended for lovers and those who like an all-over tan"

". sheltered from indiscrete gazes."

"..surrounded by a high wall.."

And this is in a country where the chances of experiencing and sharing the local life style are incomparable: Sri Lanka has a network of family boarding houses which are really private houses with a room to rent, perfectly organised and controlled by the national tourist agency. Recently some tourist agencies have begun to offer guest houses as alternatives to hotels. Even though these are small hotels and not private houses, they still present more opportunities for those who want to get nearer to the people than in the big hotels. The majority of tourists wishing to visit places of interest do so in a way which increases their isolation. In general they experience the geography in small minibus trips which give the guides more control over them and as the guides themselves are "stage

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directors" they can avoid anything that could interfere with the normal development of the performance.

Unfortunately, or luckily, not all the problems can be brushed from the tourists' sight. For those images which cannot be screened from view, the people responsible for the isolation set in motion a process of psychological canalisation: the problem will be disguised in a way seen as positive. For example it will be seen as part of the culture and one more service for the tourist. In this way the problem of paedophilia is often explained: "Homosexual relations are part of the country's traditions. They have always existed due to the rules and taboos which make pre-marital heterosexual relations difficult."

This explanation, which puts the problem in a cultural context, though correct, is only part of the truth. In fact Sri Lankan homosexuality, and above all masculine homosexuality, is a phase some adolescents pass through. Some have a type of "father" protector with whom they have homosexual relations. The difference with the latter is that it is treated as an accepted social phase which has its origin in certain temporary cultural circumstances and which generally ends when these circumstances disappear, that is, with marriage. But today this type of homosexuality in many cases continues beyond puberty and develops into crime when a youth has stopped being desirable. Furthermore the relationship is completely different. It is fleeting; the youth frequently changes partner. Traditionally the relationship was constant between one couple from start to finish; there was no monetary payment. Furthermore the youth had no contact with delinquent circles, nor did he leave his own environment; his continuity within the group he belonged to was assured. With the present paedophilia the material benefits have the effect of producing dependency. When these benefits come to an end the youth often prefers to find other types of easy gains. Due to the fact that the young homosexual is from his first contact already in delinquent sectors, concerned with for example prostitution or drugs, he usually tries to find a new source of income from these same areas. Reintegration into his original group becomes more difficult with the passing of time until it comes to the point where it is completely impossible.

Should anyone mention the massive production of babies, they will receive a negative response all round with the explanation that in the developing countries and above all among "uneducated" people – a term frequently used to refer to the low urban classes and rural population – it is a tradition to have a large number of offspring. The adoption of babies will be praised as a charitable act on the part of those who enjoy a more favourable economic situation. Apparently – and in keeping with my experiences as a visitor to the country – the network of people with interests in the baby adoption business is much wider than it would seem at first. So, to my surprise, the owner of the boarding house where

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I was living asked if I knew of families in Europe interested in "helping" a large neighbouring family with no economic means. The help would consist of adopting one of the children and offering "thanks" with an unspecified amount which would go to help the rest of the family. He himself would administer the donated money as he had been doing for some time already with different families. He also mentioned a sum which was usually paid by the donors, an enormous amount though lower than the fees taken by European adoption agencies. According to information from other travellers, hotel employees, tourist guides and taxi drivers often make this type of enquiry. There is a coded language for talking about such things, for example: "the mothers-of-pearl are ripe", that is to say that in the area of the mother-of-pearl plantations where there is in fact baby-production, some women have given birth.

With regard to the evidence of the poverty which can be seen from a first step on the island, it is distorted and its content changed. Its exotic aspects are emphasised so that the tourist does not reflect upon the misery it represents. Therefore the misery forms part of the idyllic landscape. The beauty of the villages of palm leaf shacks will be stressed without mention that their disastrous location is the focus of innumerable illnesses. The perfect finish of the traditional boats which the majority of the fishermen continue to use is emphasised omitting that they lack modern boats which would permit them to compete with the enormous Japanese boats which almost sweep the bottom of the seaboard; this is not because of love of tradition but because of a lack of economic means. The beauty of the tea plantations is emphasised where women, the majority of them Tamil, gather the leaves and contribute to the perfection of the scene. But that they do piecework for wages which barely buy the minimum of basic necessities is left unsaid. The almost complete nudity of the infant population is noted as aesthetic and photogenic with no mention that their parents are not able to permit themselves the luxury of clothing them. Begging is presented as a historical phenomenon: "there have always been beggars" and the tourist takes no blame for the proliferation of this phenomenon.

Conclusion

In this paper we have tried to look at how it is possible to travel to Sri Lanka and to perceive little of the complete country. This "impermeability" of what we surround ourselves with exists thanks to the Western world's mythification which is put into play on our arrival on the island. In fact, the problem is not unique to Sri Lanka, we could tell an endless number of similar stories of tourist areas; it is only the elements making up the myth that vary slightly. Fortunately there are travellers who make holes in the walls of the proffered "bubble", but others

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prefer to stay inside it as is confirmed by the following remarks from two recently returned tourists. In one, the tourist expressed his complete conviction that all Sri Lankans practised Hinduism. The other expressed his disappointment in not finding the "plant" from which curry grew!

Notes

1. By "traditional tourist", I mean one who goes on a "package tour" i.e. all services included in the total price. I have intentionally avoided calling this "mass" tourism because I consider this an inadequate word. For the host society, all tourism is "mass" including that called "alternative"
2. Westernised here means all those countries with the same characteristics as European countries, regardless of geographical location.
3. For more details see page
4. See Engels in Bauman, 1959, p.465. Bordieu 1982 also holds the view that mythical language deforms the reality and considers the myth "ideographical".
5. Software is used in this type of propaganda but as its effects are visual and optical it has not been given especial mention.
6. For more precise information on the socio-cultural effects of tourism, the negative effects of which I have defined as social cost, see Rossel 1984:101.
7. According to information from the "Sud Asien Buro" Wuppertal, W. Germany.
8. Some of the brochures consulted mentioned these kind of problems but only in relation to the inconvenience for the visitor. Some, however, mention them seriously.

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Map of North America showing the Northwest Coast (Jørgen Ulrich).

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Potlatch and Totem: the Attraction of America's Northwest Coast

By Isabelle Schulte-Tenckhoff

The title of this essay intentionally recalls the memoirs of William Halliday (1935), faithful servant of what was once Canada's Department of Indian Affairs (1) who spent 38 years of his life with Indians. These memoirs illustrate a particular feature of tourism among indigenous peoples, which can be described as "ambivalence". While Halliday distinguished himself as one of the most ardent persecutors of native ways (in fact, he could pride himself on having instigated the largest potlatch trial leading to the conviction of seventeen Kwakiutl Indians), he was also so fascinated by the Indians that he devoted most of his publication to a detailed and lively account of Kwakiutl customs. This ambivalent attitude is the purpose of my contribution, because it throws additional light on so-called Third and Fourth World tourism demonstrating its role as a by-product of historically shaped relations of power and domination, at the same time calling up a whole range of fantasies of the Noble or Ignoble Savage.

Anthropologists have already studied Third and Fourth World tourism from several points of view. Smith's (1977) hypothesis looks at tourism as a form of culture contact and suggests a specifically anthropological frame of analysis for a worldwide approach. Nash (in Smith 1977:35) on the other hand looks at the imperialistic component of Third and Fourth World tourism. She shows how touristic and related development are managed from outside the area under consideration. In contrast to these approaches, I shall concentrate on the relevance of "Halliday's dilemma" in relation to the notion of what I term "consuming otherness", of which tourism to far distant places is but a symptom.

Many contemporary examples show the relevance of Halliday's dilemma today in all levels of North American society. For example Indian totem poles from Canada and the United States were displayed as symbols of national state identity at the 1970 Osaka Exposition (2) in Japan. Yet these exhibitions completely ignore the claims of North America's indigenous peoples which are considered a threat to state colonial expansion and nation-building. Likewise, Northwest Coast residents collect Indian art; banks and insurance companies purchase costly totem poles and wooden panels in order to embellish their headquarters (3); tourists visit "tribal sites", ethnographic museums, and invade curio shops in order to buy plastic model totem poles (made in Hongkong). At the same

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time, most people shrink back when crossing the path of a drunken Indian; many are unaware that there are several Indian reserves within urban Vancouver and very few are properly acquainted with Indians history, achievements, and contemporary living conditions.

The current use of ethnic features to promote a country – whether by forming its identity or simply to attract tourists – brings into focus the asymmetry of Indian-White relations. While Indian culture is often fascinating and marketable, the basic issues concerning the rights and status of indigenous peoples remain unsolved. This situation holds in ransom parts of the world.

This essay looks at the contradiction of culture contact from the particularly interesting perspective of the peoples of the Northwest Coast who have been largely set apart from the rest of North America's native societies in this process. Their material culture and specific use of valuables have played a crucial role, particulary artifacts such as the famous totem poles and the large-scale gift exchanges called potlatches which have never ceased to baffle foreigners and continue to be major attractions to residents and tourists alike. These cultural features have, at the same time, given rise to a series of preconceived ideas about the nature of the society which I call the "Northwest Coast stereotype". The significance of this stereotype lies in the fact it is connected to the Indians' successful resistance to assimilation, such as their unwillingness to abandon their belief systems and related ceremonial practices, even though they may have adopted certain Western styles of life.

Halliday's dilemma illustrates the historical dimension of the creation of the "Northwest Coast stereotype" as it is tied to the conditions created by settlement and colonial administration. Anthropology, on the other hand, has played a crucial role in stereotype formation on a broader ideological level. In particular, "Boasianism" (the classical approach of North American cultural anthropology shaped by Franz Boas (1858-1942) and his followers) has contributed significantly to the creation of cultural stereotypes and has had considerable impact upon the diffusion of the Northwest Coast version. Cultural anthropology has carried to the realm of scientific knowledge some of the more spectacular preconceptions attached to Northwest Coast societies which, in Halliday's time, served as pretext for the government to impose a predominantly assimilationist policy. Consequently, there exist various ways of "consuming otherness"; and bringing these features together may help elucidate the complexity of what is commonly termed the ethnic question.

The Making of a Culture

The Northwest Coast extends from southeastern Alaska to Oregon; its main por-

tion runs through the Canadian Province of British Columbia to which specific emphasis will be given in this paper. Ethnographically speaking, the Northwest Coast is an area of cultural diversity overshadowed by the expression "Northwest Coast culture" that belongs to the current vocabulary of American cultural anthropology. All the same, were it not for totem poles and the potlatch, the Northwest Coast might form just another "culture area" of native North America. As it is, the coastal Indians have always been described as somewhat unusual. Alternately termed "Children of the Raven" (Hays, 1975), "Totem Pole Indians" (Wherry, 1974) and the like, the Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, West Coast (Nootka) and Kwakiutl Indians, in particular, have been set apart from the rest of North America's indigenous groups. (5)

According to ethnographic tradition, their alleged uniqueness is mainly attributed to what Drucker (1955:1) describes as an "anomaly", namely the combination of a traditionally "simple" mode of subsistence, based on fishing, hunting and gathering, and a high degree of social "complexity" bearing upon a presumably aristocratic rank system, slavery, elaborate ceremonies, and distinctive art styles. In less stereotyped terms, this means that traditional Northwest societies were organised according to totemic units (lineages or extended families) whose specific affiliation to an animal or plant species could, and still can, be traced back mythically. What anthropology has tended to consider as classes or castes corresponds to differences in renown and prestige. These depend on the socially recognised value of family- or lineage-owned rights embedded in names and symbolic representations (crests). Each descent group possesses a fixed set of names and corresponding economic, political and ceremonial rights through time. The names are successively incarnated by living persons who must organise a distribution of gifts in order to validate their claim to the rights. Along the coast, there are considerable variations as far as the patterns of descent, marriage, chieftainship and overall social organisation are concerned. Nevertheless, beyond the specificity of each linguistic group or sub-group, one may identify a common socio-cultural outlook that confers a certain homogeneity to the region.

Three elements deserve mentioning:

First, Northwest Coast cosmology, although diverse, is based on a model of circulation and transformation of spiritual, animal and human beings. Special emphasis is placed on the mutual dependency of the maintenance of all life, not just human life alone.

Secondly, on the social level, a complex set of communication patterns (marriage, ceremonial exchange, feasting, trade and war) define group and individual identity in several ways. In traditional society, this aspect was stressed by a general lack of political integration beyond the local community.

Thirdly, the paramount importance of ceremonial exchanges, feasting, and the quest for prestige (based on spiritual as well as political power) accounts for a concept of material wealth which transcends the economic.

It is hardly surprising that, during the colonial period, contact with Northwest Coast societies came as a shock to most Europeans, not only because of obvious differences in ways of thinking and acting, but equally because of the fact that the ceremonialism and aesthetics were hard to fit into pre-existing notions of "primitive" existence. Ambivalence was present from the beginning.

A Brief Historical Introduction

The first Europeans to reach the Northwest Coast at the end of the 18th century were attracted by the region's abundance of fur-bearing animals. Thus immediately after "discovery", the coastal Indians were drawn into the European (and, subsequently, American) trade network: they supplied pelts for the Orient trade and received in return a variety of European trade goods, among them much coveted metal implements. Despite its predatory character, this initially maritime fur trade brought certain advantages to the Indians for the period when they managed to be in control. Through the influx of new trade items, ceremonial exchanges and artistic activities increased: even so the European contribution should not be overrated as the cultural florescence occurred within the framework of pre-existing socio-cultural patterns. A thesis advanced by a number of anthropologists (for example, Duff, 1964) claims that the fur trade somehow shaped Northwest Coast cultures but this tends to mask its negative consequences such as the introduction of diseases and the continual loss of Indian control over the trade.

By the 1820s, the maritime fur trade had ceased and was replaced by land-based operations involving powerful fur-trading companies, such as the Hudson's Bay Company which became instrumental in the establishment of the British colonies of New Caledonia and Vancouver Island. European settlement of what was then to become British Columbia started around the mid-19th century, after the discovery of gold and other subsoil resources. At approximately the same time, the Americans secured and settled the southern part of the coast (now Washington State and Oregon), then acquired Alaska from the Russians.

With the arrival of large numbers of settlers, Indian-European relations changed from contact to conflict, as Fisher (1977) argues in his excellent historical study of British Columbia. Settlers from Great Britain and elsewhere started to compete with the region's first inhabitants for land and resources. In British Columbia, new modes of Indian-European relations were set up through different channels, in particular, missionary interventions, the introduction of a Puri-

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tan work ethic including wage labour, and last, but not least, the establishment of an Indian administration legitimised in the name of the Crown's sovereignty over the newly occupied lands. Indians were denied their prior land rights and "reserves" and "wardships" were created. The so-called Indian Land Question (cf. Cail, 1974) has, to this day, not been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned,and it probably never will. We should mention that British Columbia's indigenous people possess a large number of small reserves intended to respect their traditionally migrant use of resources, whereby local kinship groups occupied alternately a variety of fishing grounds and trap lines.

This migrant form of land use corresponded to the availability of the area's natural resources and functioned as long as the settler population did not encroach on Indian lands. Nowadays it raises a series of problems which is partly related to the authorities' unwillingness to recognise the significance Indians continue to attach to a traditional use of their natural resources. Hugh Brody's (1981) account of trap line mapping among the Beaver Indians of Interior British Columbia is a case in point.

In the field of wage labour, Knight (1978) stresses the Indians'contribution to the construction of British Columbia's economy. Until the beginning of this century, the European population remained rather low and concentrated in certain areas, while the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s had triggered off a boom that desperately required labour. Thus, the Indians became instrumental in the implementation of the province's basic economic activities: fishing, logging, mining, and related processing industries such as canneries and pulp mills. However, Knight is adamant:

> To whatever degree Indian workers did or did not adopt a more general resource-worker ethos, distinctively Indian socio-cultural patterns remained in non-work situations (1978:33).

Missionary interventions (Catholic and Protestant) started on a massive scale with settlements, as the Indians' evangelisation was considered a preliminary condition for sedentarisation and "civilisation". By the turn of the century, the majority of British Columbia's indigenous population was nominally Christian but, according to Whitehead (1981:4):

> However strong the conversion statistics appeared to be, many Indians retained their old belief systems even while they practised Christianity.

In the three fields that were most strongly affected by conflicting ideas and habits, land and authority, the work ethic and belief systems, assimilation has to be seen against a general pattern of Indian resistance. In British Columbia, the latter finds its most prominent expression in the potlatch issue.

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Totem Pole, Northwest Coast Indians (University of British Columbia Museum).

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The Potlatch Issue

The word potlatch derives from the Chinook Jargon (the Northwest trade language) and it means "a gift". In his dictionary of the Chinook Jargon, Thomas (1970:92-93) adds the following definition:

> The potlatch was a native festival common to all the tribes of the Northwest Coast. Its feature was the distribution of gifts. The most noted chief was he who gave away the most valuable and largest number of presents.

It should be stressed that "potlatch" is a generic term subsuming various types of gift exchanges. According to Goddard (1924:130-131):

> In its common use among the white people and the natives on the Northwest Coast it (the potlatch) has taken on a very general meaning and is applied to any Indian festival at which there is feasting, or, in connection with which property is given away. Because of its loose and general meaning there necessarily exists a good deal of confusion as to what is meant by the term. From the Indian's viewpoint many different things are meant when he uses the Chinook word in speaking to white people, for it is the only word intelligible to them by means of which he can refer to a considerable number of ceremonies or festivals each having its own Indian name. When white people employ the term they undoubtedly are thinking mainly of the disposal of property.

When the word "potlatch" was used more extensively at the time of settlement, it immediately acquired an essentially polemic meaning. While no one really seemed to know what the potlatch was, most Europeans, who were properly dumfounded at the Indians' lavish use of material wealth, employed the term in order to distinguish clearly native culture and society from the Western World and Western (especially Victorian) values. The "otherness" of Northwest Coast patterns of ceremonial exchange, when seen against the emerging frontier capitalism, became a major source of conflict.

Special emphasis has to be given here to the role played by the missionaries (especially of the Protestant denominations) who:

> were among the first outsiders on the Northwest Coast to identify a complex of activities as "potlatch" and, after 1870, to petition the Canadian Government for regulations to eliminate it (Inglis 1979:7).

As long-term residents among the Indians, the missionaries were indeed in a position to claim knowledge, however biased, of native ways, while their commitment to the "betterment of the Indian race" gave additional weight to their assertion that the Indians were yet unfit for "civilisation" and in need of proper guidance on the path to social progress. From their point of view, this meant a constant endeavour to lead their flock away from heathen superstitions and savage customs as exemplified by totemism, shamanism, collective property, lav-

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ish ceremonies and feasting, of which the potlatch appeared to be the paramount manifestation.

However, most Indians did not seem to be easily convinced of the virtues of so-called civilised society; nor were they willing to abandon what they held to be essential to their history and their identity as peoples. Although many of them did convert to Christianity and hired themselves out as paid labour, in the field of traditional beliefs and related ceremonial practices, many successfully opposed the churches and, subsequently, the government authorities. This selective attitude was considered an affront by most settlers and confirmed their hostility towards the province's Indian nations and provided additional justification to have the potlatch banned. The potlatch was supposed to permit all sorts of sins and wrong, ranging from the "devouring of dogs and human flesh" to the mistreatment of the elderly, and other deeds that Europeans commonly associated with the notion of "savagery". Many settlers believed that the suppression of these practices would solve once and for all the moral problem of the fate reserved for these "tribes" who, by misfortune, happened to people the lands now brought into the realm of the dominant civilisation. No wonder then that potlatch became synonymous with heathenism, sorcery and cannibalism, in short, "Hell on Earth" (in LaViolette 1973:67).

Thus, under missionary pressure, the Indian administration of the Dominion of Canada (that British Columbia had joined in 1871) finally passed a law prohibiting the potlatch (1884), which became part of the Indian Act. However, this legal instrument, once established, proved much less efficient than its promoters had intended. Haunted by practical as well as financial constraints, and hampered by their lack of control over those whom they were supposed to administer, the provincial authorities had great difficulty in enforcing the law. Apart from Halliday's aforementioned 1922 potlatch trial at Alert Bay, few individuals were sentenced under the law which lost its importance as a tool of Indian control even before it was repealed in 1951.

The law failed because it did not specify the nature of the potlatch (6), thus warranting conflicting interpretations which made Indian circumvention easy. Much doubt existed as to which distributions of gifts fell under the law, and which did not. In this sense, the Potlatch Law illustrates the overall lack of knowledge and understanding of the province's indigenous groups by the immigrant population. Hence, confronted with the Indians' growing discontent, many agents thought it advisable to tolerate the so-called "last potlatches" that, in their view, were solely organised in order to reimburse outstanding debts. At the basis of this idea lay the assumption that the potlatch, although properly "savage" in outlook, might be understood in capitalist terms as a mechanism of lending and borrowing, in short, a system of credit involving interest. Returning

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from a field trip in April 1885, I.W.Powell, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, made following observations:

> ...Hearing the speeches made by them both before and after my arrival, I informed the head Chiefs that as I understood they were only anxious to return the property they owed and as they did not intend to continue the practice of potlatching, i.e., lending with the object of having it returned with interest, the Government did not wish to act unjustly towards them, neither did they desire the Indians to act with injustice towards each other, etc. So long as any meeting therefore was intended to witness a return of gifts made on some former occasion, the Indians would not be interfered with. I explained that a Potlatch meant the donation of property in order to get back the original and interest, and that an assemblage such as they now desired did not constitute a Potlatch referred to in the Act, (in LaViolette 1973:47).

What had actually happened was that numerous Indians had made statements on their mutual ceremonial relationships and the loss of honour that would ensue, should they be prevented from acquitting themselves of their obligations. Not surprisingly the Indian agents tended to interpret these statements within their own limited range of experience in accordance with the modern market economy. From this point of view, it seemed equally possible to terminate this exchange system by legal means, as many officials were barely aware of the non-economic underpinnings of potlatching. This reductionist view accounts for the opinion held by Powell and others, that the consumption pattern of the potlatch might well be used as a vehicle of acculturation. In this manner, Powell stressed the Indians' economic contribution as consumers, given that potlatches involved large-scale distributions of gifts mostly acquired through market channels, and advocated that the indigenous communities to be left to fend for themselves.

However, this pragmatic outlook was far from pleasing to the missionaries who were mainly concerned with morality. Also, the missionaries were perhaps more conscious of the global implications of potlatching. In their everyday dealings with the Indians, they had become aware of the fact that the changes they intended to implement had to encompass all levels of native organisation in order to be effective. Hence their constant criticism of the authorities whom they accused of being too easy on the Indians. For instance, a decade after the passage of the Potlatch Law, during which only one individual had been brought to justice but released shortly afterwards, a group of missionaries commissioned an article published in February 1893 in the Toronto Empire under the title "The Evil Potlatch: The Season When the Red Man Gives Away His Blankets", which concluded with the following remarks:

> A few years ago a law was passed prohibiting the potlatch. This was as good as winked at by some of the officials, and when a certain tribe asked permission to hold "just one more potlatch" and that permission was granted, the Indians said, "If one tribe can break the law

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> by permission, we will try breaking it without permission". The law remains on the Dominion Statutes, but is practically a dead letter, and the Indians, instead of being an upright and an industrious people, are a filthy, indolent, degraded set, a disgrace and a curse to our country (in LaViolette 1973:67).

Just as the missionaries had been active in bringing about the law, they subsequently saw to its enforcement. This was to little avail, however. Many Indian communities resorted to passive resistance by gradually adapting their exchange system to the new situation. Thus, potlatches tended to be less and less conspicuous: invitations were passed out in secret, and the formerly public distributions of valuables were carried out privately in order not to attract attention. In this manner, after another few attempts at bringing Indians to trial, the potlatch issue faded, at least from the point of view of the immigrant population, whose increase in numbers, wealth and power brought about important shifts in the dominant society's interests and concerns whereby the Indian Problem became of only secondary importance. This has changed to a certain extent, however, as I will show later on.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that at the time of settlement, the potlatch debate evolved along two lines of thought. From the missionary point of view, which was also shared by a number of settlers, the issue was the "kindly moral persuasion of the church, leading the Indian step by step" (in LaViolette 1973:94-95) toward a civilised life. And the tool forged by the churches in collaboration with the State was wardship:

> Not only was wardship to protect the Indians but it was to protect the non-Indians, and with Indians who were ceremonial cannibals, who practised the blood-feud, who wasted time, who destroyed property, and who did not recognise the legal and contractual scheme of European marriage-making, it was necessary at least to substitute an Indian system of morality for the religious and secular forms of the Protestant Ethic in particular and Christian morality in general (LaViolette 1973:96).

The second line of thought, which was far from being unfamiliar to the missionaries (7), focused on economic considerations. As such, it is extremely relevant to the assessment of contemporary Indian policy as well as anthropological theorising. To elucidate this point, it is important to stress the role played by Franz Boas who was closely involved in the potlatch debate while he conducted fieldwork on the Northwest Coast during the 1880s and 1890s under an assignment of the British Society for the Advancement of Science. Torn between the paradigm of cultural relativism and what he felt his obligation as a citizen, i.e. to take a political stand in the potlatch debate, Boas could not avoid supporting the Indians' assimilation into White society, on the grounds that native socio-economic organisation was not intrinsically incompatible with so-called civilisation. Following the Indian administration's understanding of the potlatch by

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defining it as an "interest-bearing investment of property" (1970:341) and, as such, the pivot of native economy, he implied that, although different in form from modern capitalism, Indian ceremonial ways responded to allegedly universal economic motives such as the quest of profit and financial security.

Boas' interpretation was misconceived insofar as it did not take into consideration two aspects of which the missionaries, in particular, were very much aware, namely an essentially different concept of material wealth (circulation instead of productive accumulation) underlying potlatch exchanges, as well as its global socio-cultural pattern. Potlatches were, and are, not simply "Indian business", however ironical the fact that they may be called so nowadays (see Holm 1977). Nevertheless, Boas' assertion has exerted a lasting impact upon Northwest Coast anthropology and accounts for the dominant reductionist view of potlatch as "savage capitalism". (8)

At the same time, Boas' detailed verbatim transcriptions of Southern Kwakiutl ceremonial speeches has fostered a whole set of spectacular notions that find their most prominent expression in the classical analyses focussing upon "rival chiefs" and "fighting with property". (9) Therefore Boas, while a central figure in the establishment of an abusive analogy between potlatch and modern capitalism, has also helped carry to the realm of scholarly knowledge the missionaries' sensationalist view of Northwest Coast native societies.

In conclusion, modern anthropology, as well as the common resident of, or visitor to, the Northwest Coast have an inherited stereotypical image of Northwest Coast culture, that may be summarised as follows:

The Northwest Coast Stereotype

A baffling aspect of the Northwest Coast stereotype for European immigrants and anthropologists has been what Drucker calls the "anomaly". As fishermen, hunters and collectors, the coastal societies were, by force of circumstance, considered by many as being "primitive". Whereas we could not refute the notion of a general evolution of humanity's growing mastery of natural processes and the corresponding refinement, but not necessarily improvement, of subsistence techniques. This does not mean support for the idea of evolutionary stages, however. The Northwest Coast stereotype contains the insidious idea that the sociocultural organisation of hunters and gatherers constitutes an initial stage of evolution despite overwhelming ethnographic and archaeological evidence to the contrary.

The Northwest Coast peoples' stereotype also has to deal with the appearance of "civilised" features of life: complex social stratification, elaborate ceremonies and, in particular, a material culture which, as even the most skepti-

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cal have had to admit, is of great quality. Drucker (1955:3) explains this disconcerting "anomaly" of culture contact as follows:

> That they (the Northwest Coast societies) were able to attain their high level of civilisation is due largely to the amazing wealth of the natural resources of their area (...) the bounty of nature provided that which in most other parts of the world man must supply for himself through agriculture and stock raising: a surplus of foodstuffs so great that even a dense population had an abundance of leisure to devote to the improvement and elaboration of its cultural heritage.

Thanks to this interpretative twist (10), Northwest Coast social stratification as well as ceremonial and artistic life as such could at least be explained. In this fashion, the peoples of the Northwest Coast were seen as "not quite primitive"; yet the initial doubts remained, especially throughout the period of settlement, as can be seen in the debate on the "capitalist" versus the "savage" aspects of potlatching.

Mountain view, British Colombia (photo: Jørgen B. Jørgensen).

Another illustration of Europeans' mixed feelings towards Northwest Coast societies are totem poles. While the ceremonies as well as the overall social and

kinship structure evolving around the raising of totem poles were a riddle, if not an abomination to many settlers (11), totem poles themselves became a favorite artistic object that non-Indians were proud to have in their gardens. And it was not long before the authorities started "heritage programs" in order to salvage what was suddenly considered a provincial or even national patrimony. Today, totem poles of all kinds, but least of all those raised in conjunction with Indian ceremonies, accompany the visitor on his travels through British Columbia and Alaska. They have turned into a major symbol, not only of Northwest Coast societies, but of North American Indians as such and are frequently used in advertising. To a lesser extent, the same applies to other ceremonial items, especially masks, whose aesthetic qualities were quickly recognised and served as a justification for having them displayed in a museum rather than in the course of a traditional Indian ceremony of an allegedly pagan character.

As the product of a basic misunderstanding concerning the relationships between subsistence patterns and socio-cultural creativity, the Northwest Coast stereotype has become a projection of White Man's perception. Because it does not fit into the non-indigenous model it is seen as unique. While in theory the economically "simple" coastal groups should have been unable to develop "complex" societies, they did so, yet most North Coast scholars tend to neglect the crucial relationship between spheres of material things, ideas and modes of social action. Many anthropological scholars, in particular those influenced by Boas, have not questioned the relevance of their analogical models describing Northwest Coast chiefs as aristocrats, totem poles as heraldic objects, and potlatches as interest-bearing investments of property...thus demonstrating in a tautological manner their pre-established notions.

Furthermore, Northwest Coast culture has been regarded as so unusual that it became the choice topic of a voluminous literature, ranging from popular writings to a scholarly material. In this fashion, and owing to the omnipresence of Indian artifacts, especially in British Columbia, the stereotype has reached the general public. This is most relevant with regard to tourism.

Consuming Otherness

"Halliday's dilemma" is a clear manifestation of the Northwest Coast stereotype and expresses the non-Indians' manner of conceiving the Coast's indigenous groups in a selective and fragmentary fashion. For reasons that would deserve closer scrutiny in another context (12), we can see that many non-Indians are incapable of recognising and, consequently, of accepting Indian society and culture holistically. This "epistemological disability" is the preliminary condition for "the consumption of otherness". To illustrate this statement we should look

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at a central element of Indian-White relations, namely the exchange or trade of Indian artifacts.

Indian Culture as a Commodity

The history of non-Indian perceptions of Northwest Coast culture fluctuates between rejection and mythologising. While the first is notably illustrated by the potlatch issue, the second appears clearly through the exchange and, subsequently, trade of Indian artifacts.

Since the first documented Indian-European contacts, visitors, mostly fur traders, started to collect ceremonial items. Initially the traders saw the pieces they collected as curios but from the late 18th century, salable Northwest Coast art steadily developed in virtue of the classical principle of metamorphosis: on arrival in Europe, objects produced by indigenous groups were declared "art". As Carpenter points out in his introduction to the dialogue on Indian art between Bill Holm and Bill Reid (1975:13), "most pieces collected in the late 18th century were of high quality" (13) and in the 1820s a market started to develop in response to the growing demand. This process happened to coincide with a notable decline of the fur trade due to rapid destruction of the traders' main prey (sea otter). One sign of the growing importance of commercial art is that many masks traded between 1820 and 1870 are uniform in style. Carpenter describes these pieces as "lifeless", and adds:

> All are well executed, but technique cannot conceal that meaningless quality everywhere characteristic of art without belief. (in Holm and Reid 1975:14)

Since this period, as Hawthorn et al. (1960:257) point out, art production may be considered as a steady component of Indian-White relations. Nevertheless, the expanding sector of commercial art still co-existed with a continuing traditional sector where ceremonial pieces of no monetary value continued to be made for indigenous use. This distinction, which is most relevant for the assessment of current indigenous resistance, has been maintained to this day.

Two examples chosen among the Haida of northern British Columbia illustrate the emergence of a specifically commercial art. Firstly, the production of argillite carvings which Kaufmann (1976:58) characterises as the first manifestation of "tourist art"; this applies in particular to argillite model totem poles whose production increased while that of "real" wooden totem poles diminished due to drastic changes in the traditional social structure. Secondly, we should mention the appearance of a new art form depicting Whites on masks, figurines and pipes made of different materials. According to Swinton (1891), these pieces offer interesting insights into the process of, often traumatising, socio-cultural

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change under colonisation. They also express what Graburn (1976:17) calls the obvious cross-cultural code in tourist art".

"Raven and the First Men", carving by Haida Indian artist Bill Reid (University of British Colombia Museum).

In this sense, commercial Northwest Coast art constitutes a major channel of communication between two types of socio-cultural organisation that are still fundamentally incompatible. Whereas some non-Indians see commercial art as

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a sign of Indian assimilation, because Indians have chosen to put their history and identity on sale for monetary gain, we consider that this utilitarian angle is too limited. A broader picture should include other factors. What, we could ask, prompted the initial demand for Indian art, considering the contempt in which Indian people were held by the average settler. This brings us back to Halliday's dilemma.

It is rather striking that a series of important collections of Indian artifacts were established precisely at the time when the Northwest Coast societies underwent the most vehement assault on their traditional modes of life, namely during the colonial period and the first decades after the passage of the Potlatch Law. In this manner, the historical period under consideration offers a clear illustration of the ambivalence mentioned earlier. In provocative terms, it may then be argued that the William Hallidays among the missionaries, Indian agents and settlers at large (in fact all those who advocated the principle of wardship) did not differ much from the notorious U.S. General Sherman to whom is ascribed the famous slogan: "The only good Indian is a dead Indian". Even though Canada's Indian administration did not follow the example of Sherman, most of the indigenous peoples suffered violence from the army and authorities. The borderline between genocide and ethnocide is blurred and, in certain respects, as arbitrary as the Canadian-American border. Forced acculturation is neither better nor more just than downright physical aggression and in this light the Northwest Coast groups can be seen to have been subdued though a variation on Sherman's theme, namely that the only good Indian culture is a dead Indian culture.

Material artifacts have been connected to forced acculturation in other ways. During the colonial period and later, the fascination with Indian artifacts and symbolic expressions was to some extent nourished by the feeling that the pieces referred to a past irrevocably lost: one mythologising of the past which became all the more attractive as their materialised traits symbolised dominant society's progress. As Graburn puts it: "The rulers of the world have used the powerless and the exotic as 'nature' by which to demarcate their 'culture' (1976:14-15). An interesting illustration of this phenomenon is the fascination with Kwakiutl "cannibal" masks traditionally used during initiation into the most prestigious secret society, that of *hamatsa*, where the mythical encounter between the novice's ancestor and the Man-Eater is re-enacted. Kwakiutl "cannibal" myths and related ceremonies are basically a way of "thinking" about anthropophagy as a dangerous manifestation of transgressing humanness (14). Even so, there much debate from Boas' time until recently, about authentic "cannibalism" on the Northwest Coast, although there is no proof. This preconception is a legacy of the early fur traders, who believed that "savages" were by nature "cannibals", then the missionaries who took pride in having "eradicated

cannibalism", and for many non-Indians provided a welcome justification for the policy of forced acculturation.

The fascination with Indian artifacts by outsiders demonstrates the limits within which dominant White society has conceded to be tolerant of otherness. These limits are narrow and usually exclude socio-cultural manifestations other than those which may be transformed into commodities; they are established through the control and domestication of "otherness". Non-Indian society administers and academically believes that it has achieved the necessary control over indigenous groups, by forcing upon the latter its own laws of order, proper organisation and analysis.

In spite of this, in recent years, non-Indians have become increasingly aware of Indian issues – an awareness that amounts to a second "discovery"(15). While some of the awareness build-up may be the result of the Indians' growing militancy (especially in relation with the Constitution debate), it would certainly be a mistake to think that dominant Canadian society is willing, for instance, to recognise Indian self-determination, especially in the fields of natural resources and economic organisation.

Indian art commercialisation therefore illustrates a distinction between form and substance: formal differences or "otherness as décor", are tolerated, while substantive issues affecting vested economic and political interests are not.

The non-indigenous fragmented view of Northwest Coast culture and the persistence of the Northwest Coast stereotype have allowed for a specific type of Indian-White relation: consumption and purchase. With the implementation of this pattern, the dominant society apparently has fulfilled the settler population's wishful thinking that the Northwest Coast Indian societies were doomed. Suffice it here to quote Boas who, referring to the potlatch, states in 1896:

> The lingering survivals of the old ceremonies will die out quickly, and the remainder is a harmless amusement that we should be slow to take away from the native who is struggling against the overpowerful influence of civilisation (1974:356).

But were the Indian societies really doomed? In 1961, Lesser made the following statement concerning the United States Indians:

> Indians are reminders of a past that troubles the American conscience. More than that, their existence as *Indians* unsettles the firm conviction that this country, with its superior institutions, assimilation is proper and desirable and in fact an inevitable, automatic process. Why, after centuries of contact with us, should Indians still feel so separate and aloof? (1985:109; author's emphasis).

It is then appropriate to consider the other side of the picture, i.e. the indigenous point of view.

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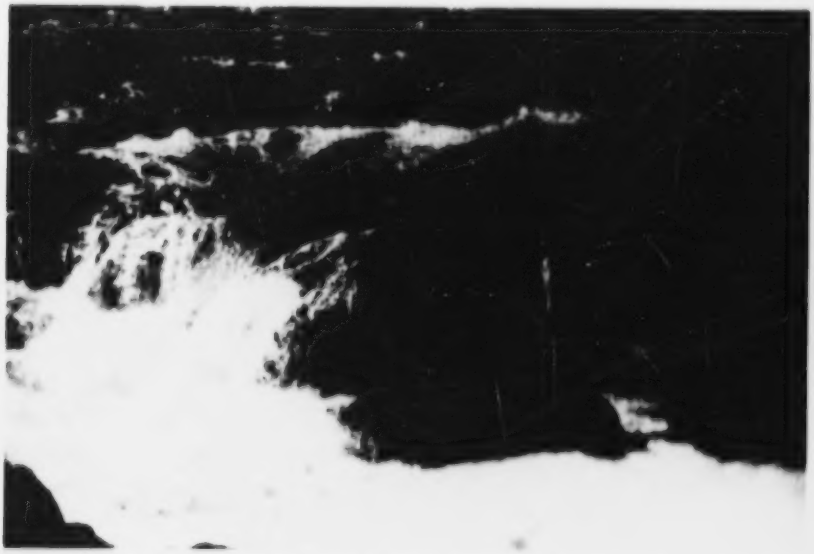
Indian Resistance

The Northwest Coast groups in the past opposed the Potlatch Law and there is a current increase in potlatches which testifies to a ceremonial continuity of which many people not be aware. (16) In the field of art production, another process is at work, namely the combining of art production intended for sale (mainly to non-Indians) and production of ceremonial items intended for indigenous use. This deserves closer scrutiny.



Salmon Fishing, British Colombia (photo: Jørgen B. Jørgensen).

The following quotation from Macnair (1980:23) gives a brief overview of the two main purposes of artifacts in traditional Northwest Coast society:

> On the one hand it is a crest art – a totem pole, dancing headdress, house-frontal painting, or decorated blanket signalling the owner's mythic origins. This was most highly developed among the northernmost tribes where inheritance was through the female line, although it was also entrenched among the Southern Kwakiutl. Crest art was emphasised during potlatches and feasts and as such verified and validated the social system.
>
> On the other hand, art made the supernatural world visible. The incredible array of creatures – human, animal and mythic – that inhabit the minds and landscape of Northwest Coast people are realised through the medium of dance dramas. The skill evident in plastic and graphic arts is only part of a continuum which extended into theatre.

To Europeans, a striking feature of Northwest Coast societies has been the presence of elaborately decorated items including the most utilitarian objects. While these have usually been interpreted according to the Northwest Coast stereotype, they have only recently been considered in connection with Northwest Coast cosmology and social organisation. However pleasing to the eye, Northwest Coast artifacts were and still are expressions of specific spiritual and social relations. Their meaning may be embedded in the object itself (17), but it would not be complete without reference to specific ceremonial, social and political contexts and, indeed, to what is done with them. Art commercialisation on the Northwest Coast works because formal aspects of artifacts are changed, and because the latter are withdrawn from their respective context. This is done intentionally. In this sense, Indians do not sell their culture or history; instead, they make pieces according to the rules of the market economy and, to a certain extent, to the buyers' taste.

Hence, there exist two different approaches to the meaning and possible use of artifacts, which Indians clearly distinguish. This recalls in a striking manner data provided earlier concerning the coexistence of Christianity and traditional spirituality, or that of paid labour and lavish gift-givings.

This division of internal and external constitute a major feature of contemporary Indian society and cultural resistance. On the Northwest Coast today, many individual Indians (in particular those who deal regularly with non-Indians, such as carvers and artists) control their relations with the dominant society. As most non-Indians are not in a position to judge the meaning of a piece, for instance, or of an action, the Indians can sell aspects of their culture on their own terms. For example, there are ceremonies to bestow an Indian name on a White person; it is no real name at all, but just invented for the occasion. Nevertheless, the proud beneficiary is left with the illusion to having been "integrated into the tribe". Also there are sales of "fake" carvings. We cannot see these examples as a loss of socio-cultural identity because the Indians are intentionally controlling their dealings with national state society. Indians are frequently seen as victims of culture change, of what Boas calls the "overpowerful influence of civilisation" (see above). This assertion is closely related to the dominant society's firm conviction that it represents the best anyone may want to have. Yet this understanding of otherness is limited; there is an excessive valuation of formal or material features of culture contact and Indians are considered victims of culture change because of their easy conversion to aspects of Western life styles. This is interpreted as if they had recognised the superiority of non-Indian technology and economic efficiency, indeed, of "White culture". But, as Lesser (1985:110) states:

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> adaption of the externals of American Life is not neatly correlated with accompanying changes in basic Indian attitudes, mind, and personality. Feelings and attitudes, the life of the inner man, change more slowly that utilitarian features of comfort and convenience.

It should be added that "feelings and attitudes" must be considered not only on the individual but also on the social level, then analysed in virtue of the social modes of action they foster or perpetuate. This is another relevant aspect of Indian cultural resistance. Most non-Indians rarely experience Indian community life. They may encounter individuals whose behaviour is then judged according to a preconceived idea of what an Indian (and not a member of a specific indigenous group) is supposed to say or do. But neither the individual nor behaviour are meaningful units of analysis. And it is all the more regrettable that many North American anthropologists fall into this positivist trap, again supporting stereotyped images.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that Northwest Coast societies still function as groups. They have accommodated themselves to the way of life of those who surround them. Individually, they seek to enter this "outside" world and to obtain certain advantages if they can. But most of them still identify themselves with their group of origin. I should add that this continuous "back-and-forth" movement which characterises contemporary Indian life constitutes a major theoretical challenge for which new approaches have to be created.

Tourism and Ethnic Identity

Tourism is the result of an overall reproduction pattern. The figure of the contemporary tourist has predecessors throughout the history of British Columbia from the first contact with European society. Their concrete objectives may vary in the same way when different historical periods are compared but only to a certain extent. Nevertheless, the fur trader, the missionary, the settler, the Indian agent or government official, and today's resident share a number of characteristics that result in a typical relationship with the province's indigenous groups.

The preceding discussion has described the most important elements of this typical relationship. I have focussed upon the historical ambivalence of Indian-White relations, of which tourism is, in fact, the contemporary manifestation.

British Columbia is regarded as a huge resort. It offers countless possibilities of "enjoying nature": fishing, hunting, trekking, observing wildlife... For most urban North Americans, Indians are part of the picture, albeit troublesome at times, as their attitude towards nature and wildlife is rather incompatible with what the visitors are seeking: a pastime and leisure. On the other hand, as a result of strong promotion and advertising, Indian culture, meant as commodity,

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is also attractive. Thus, tourists are on the lookout for two items of otherness: "real" nature, and "tribes".

In both cases, tourists are searching to put some contrast to their everyday existence. Hence, Northwest Coast tourism indicates not so much what British Columbia or its indigenous groups have to offer but what the tourists feel they are lacking: pitting themselves against the hardships of nature (preferably by crossing paths with a bear), living off their hunted prey, but also, and perhaps more importantly, displaying their feats by bringing home trophies. Indians play the game, notably as guides, but they look down upon these touristic endeavors, strongly permeated by a he-man and lone-wolf ideology. Many Indians do not understand how tourists can kill an animal without need for food. In fact, conflicts may arise as a result of sports fishing and hunting as the latter compete with Indian subsistence activities and often disturb the ecological balance. Moreover, tourists are generally not aware of the fact that many fishing grounds and trap lines have always belonged to specific indigenous local groups. Their encroachment upon such territories provokes resentment and hostility among the Indians. Such situations are more than familiar to indigenous communities: before the tourists came, others set themselves up as masters of the land. Given this historical experience, it is no wonder that Indians take the money but remain wary.

Indians' employment as guides, as well as the sale of artifacts, are important sources of income. Indeed, a number of Indian families cover a considerable portion of their expenses by participating in the touristic structure, even though it only allows for seasonal or irregular employment. While tourism in British Colombia cannot be said – at least not in a general fashion – to bring about "ethnodevelopment" (and it remains to be seen what this magic word could well mean for reserves), it has taken its place in Indian life. For this reason, Indians themselves are ambivalent: they might resent tourism, but they would also miss it if it suddenly stopped.

Indian artists may carve and sell whatever object they please, and can still protect their ceremonial life against intruders. Indian-controlled channels of commercialisation have been established in order to fend off White dealers.

However, indigenous communities have much less power to control what is being done on their land. This is primarily due to the fact that they are not regarded by the state as sovereign entities. Therefore, they need provincial or federal protection through legislation against land invasion. But this is far from being guaranteed and, where it exists, enforcement is too general to be of use. Tourism is a source of revenue for the provincial authorities and numerous non-Indians who do not hesitate to claim nature's touristic attractions as a common capital from which they have a right to benefit.

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In this manner, two important aspects of the tourist structure – consuming nature and consuming Indian culture – are governed by principles established during the colonial period, which can only be understood in the light of historical developments. There are paradoxes relating to tourism. Tourists seek contact with a natural world that they have themselves sacrificed in the economic name of progress, while remaining rather intolerant of the way of life of indigenous communities which are based upon a less exploitative use of natural resources; the authorities deliver permits for sports fishing and hunting rights to tourists, while many indigenous communities are fighting to have their traditional fishing and hunting rights recognised. Tourists who claim to be attracted to and interested in Indian culture are annoyed when not allowed to witness a traditional ceremony, as if it were a show open to anyone who pays the fee.

The basic difficulty of contemporary Indian-White relations is the co-existence of two codes. For example, some Indian ceremonies are meant as shows and are organised for tourists; but others are not. The visitor to British Columbia is generally not in a position to distinguish the difference. However, Indians do make the difference, indeed, they control it. In this sense, tourism is, at least for the time being, a variation on the pattern which has already been established by which all sorts of encroachments upon indigenous communities simultaneously give rise to adaptation and resistance. Most Indians are very much aware of "what is expected of them" (namely, the average non-Indian person's fantasies about them), and they act accordingly, by inventing ways to take advantage of these. This process works particularly well in the field of art production but it remains to be seen whether this new form of cultural exchange has repercussions upon indigenous peoples' organisation. It may be possible that stereotypes could become part of a people's representation of themselves and their past, especially considering the fact that on the Northwest Coast, traditional Indian society has been considerably affected by population decline, migration and outside interventions. Thus, the mythical underpinnings of indigenous symbolic expressions, for example, may be lost or forgotten and the stereotypes could take their place. A striking that in a film entitled *Potlatch: Strict Law Bids Us Dance*, made in 1975 by the Southern Kwakiutl community of Alert Bay in order to cover the costs of repatriating ceremonial paraphernalia confiscated by Halliday in 1922 and presently displayed at the Museum of Man in Ottawa, presents the potlatch in purely Boasian terms, including reference to interest gaining investment of property.

As far as nature and wildlife tourism is concerned, there are more fundamental problems that stem from the overall pattern of power relations established through colonisation. These involve "down-to-earth" economic interests that clearly indicate the vulnerability of today's indigenous communities. Much

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depends on the intensity with which this form of tourism is promoted; a general invasion of the province's allegedly empty areas by seekers of nature and wildlife (not to speak about mining and logging companies, which is another crucial issue) is bound to engender considerable conflict. However, concerning territorial

Ksan Indian Village, British Colombia (photo: Jørgen B. Jørgensen).

and economic rights, indigenous groups have been very active recently; it remains to be seen what will be the results.

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In general terms, since the 1960s and 1970s, British Columbia's Indians have made themselves heard. This has been facilitated by the fact that various groups within dominant society have adopted a more critical view of "progress" and their society's historical role on the continent. But, again, ambivalence is peeping through. There are numerous stories about well-intentioned non-Indians in search of a communal El Dorado, who are invading reserves and imposing themselves upon Indian families in order to have a share of what they regard as the "real life". This is a new brand of tourist – also to be encountered in India and other far-off places – with two dominant characteristics: they travel without much money, counting upon the traditional hospitality of "tribal" peoples, they claim to know what a "real" Indian is, and do not hesitate to teach Indians departed from the "model" how they are supposed to live. This specific brand of tourist (and actually refuse to be called tourists) is regarded as a nuisance by many indigenous communities. After having had to listen for too long to harangues on how to become "civilised", they become rather impatient with similar exhortations to turn "savage" again.

...

In conclusion, the general pattern of Indian-White relations on the Northwest Coast since first contact exhibits a series of regularities that also mark contemporary tourism. Tourists are not visitors out of the blue; they are products of their group of origin, in this case primarily dominant Western society that has created an artificial division between work and leisure, and, consequently, the tourist who practises leisured migration. Likewise, the tourist is received as a member of a specific group and treated according to previous experiences made with this group. For this reason, tourism among Northwest Coast peoples will probably never succeed in transcending pre-established relations of power; nor does it allow for transcultural understanding. The case of British Columbia's Indians, as of North American Indians in general, is all the more enlightening in this connection as these peoples have always played a crucial role in dominant ideology as seemingly perfect illustrations of either Noble or Ignoble Savage, depending on the issues at stake.

Indian resistance since the colonial period has to be viewed as a continuous effort to maintain a minimum of autonomy in the determination of socio-cultural identity against racism as well as against non-Indian mythification. While tourism cannot be said to help sort out the issues, the threat it poses to Indian autonomy or even self-determination may contribute to continuing or growing resistance.

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Notes

1. Since 1951, Indian Affairs in Canada are being managed by the Indian Affairs Branch of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration.
2. See Graburn, 1976:29.
3. "Chase Manhattan Bank paid a Tsimshian Carver $ 7,400 for a 20-foot totem pole in 1981" (Bayless 1983: 20).
4. One may cite the case of Third World governments who, according to the widespread – if not erroneous – view that tourism is an incentive to Western-type development, seek to attract tourists eager to sample the exotic by organising visits to "tribal peoples" (e.g. the Maasai of Kenya), who are resisting assimilation policies.
5. See for example Driver, 1969:20; Grumet, 1979:1 and Loslier 1984.
6. The Potlatch Law reads as follows: "Every Indian or other person who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival known as the "Potlatch" or the Indian dance known as the "Tamanawas" is guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be liable to imprisonment of not more than six nor less than two months in any gaol or other place of confinement; and any Indian or other person who encourages, either directly or indirectly, an Indian or Indians to get up such a festival or dance, or to celebrate the same, or who shall assist in the celebration of the same is guilty of a like offense, and shall be liable to the same punishment" (*in* LaViolette 1973: 43). It might be worthwhile adding that the word *tamanawas*, also from the Chinook Jargon, refers to the so-called Spirit Dancing (of the Coast Salish Indians) and other collective rites such as the Kwakiutl winter ceremonials involving initiation into secret societies.
7. In 1899, Rev. McCullagh deplores the fact that potlatching "consumes five clear months out of every twelve in simply gorging, sleeping and dancing"; he adds: "the money that ought to be spent upon the necessaries of life is squandered on this idol, which is feted and glutted to its heart's content, while the poor, the aged, the feeble and the sick lie in poverty, filth and rags – dying for want of a little nourishment" (1899: 4).
8. Gilder (1981) claims that the roots of modern capitalism lie in the Kwakiutl potlatch. As far as the question of interests is concerned, we can quote the Handbook of Indians of Canada', where one reads under Potlatch: "Although varying considerably in different parts of the coast, these potlatches were mainly marked, as the name implies, by the giving away of quantities of goods, commonly blankets. The giver sometimes went so far as

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to strip himself of nearly every possession except his house, but he obtained an abundant reward, in his own estimation, in the respect with which his fellow-townsmen afterwards regarded him, and when others "potlatched" he, in turn, received a share of their property with interest, so that potentially he was richer than before". It is worth adding that this view of the potlatch is far from being shared by all anthropologists. Already in 1915, Curtis (1970: 143) strongly criticised Boas' assumption; later on, Drucker and Heiser (1967) as well as symbolic anthropologists (cf. for example, Goldman, 1975; Walens, 1981) invalidated the notion of the potlatch as an interest-bearing investment of property.

9. See Benedict (1934) and Codere (1950). It should be stressed that in the wake of Benedict's famous description of Southern Kwakiutl winter dances and potlatching in terms of a propensity to megalomania and excessive valuation of status rivalries, Northwest Coast societies have acquired an aura of "strangeness". This stereotype, fostered by abusive generalisation and sustained by a reductionist view of what "primitive economics" are supposed to be, underlies a whole set of anthropological theories on the potlatch; for a critical assessment of the latter, see Schulte-Tenckhoff (1986).
10. It should be added that the axiom of the Northwest Coast's natural wealth is not accepted by all scholars. On the contrary, it has given rise to an important theoretical debate between Boasian and ecological anthropology.
11. It is worth stressing in this connection that totem poles and potlatches were closely related. For instance, a totem pole might be carved and raised at the initiative of a chief in order to honor a deceased chief whose name and crests he claimed. On the pole were carved figures depicting crests of the deceased; then the pole was raised in the course of a public feast at which the guests, by their presence, acknowledged the new chief's claims and were potlatched, i.e. received gifts. Nowadays, totem pole raisings and related gift exchanges are becoming again rather frequent, after decades of interruption due to colonial pressure and subsequent changes within Indian social structure.
12. Following Dumont's (1966, 1977, 1983) distinction between individualism and holism as two fundamentally different configurations of values opposing Western society to a number of so-called "primitive" societies, one is bound to question the relevance of Western models of thought in relation with otherness. See also Schulte-Tenckhoff (1986).
13. See, for instance, Gunther's (1972) description of the famous Cook collection compiled in 1778. After Juan Perez from Spain, who attained the Northwest Coast in 1774, James Cook was the second European visitor in the region who left documentary evidence.

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14. For an interesting approach to Southern Kwakiutl "cannibalism", see for instance Walens (1981) and Reid (1984).
15. Among the many recent publications illustrating this tendency, I shall only mention three: Klan's (1981) article in "B.C. Outdoors" on contemporary potlatches as an authentic indigenous feature of British Columbia; as well as Bayless (1983) and Bäsemann (1984) from the 'Wall Street Journal' and the German weekly 'Die Zeit' respectively, who both relate the "revival" of Indian traditions, in particular totem pole carving and potlatching.
16. See, for instance, the collection of papers edited by Blackman (1977).
17. See Holm (1978) on the formal aspects of Northwest Coast art.

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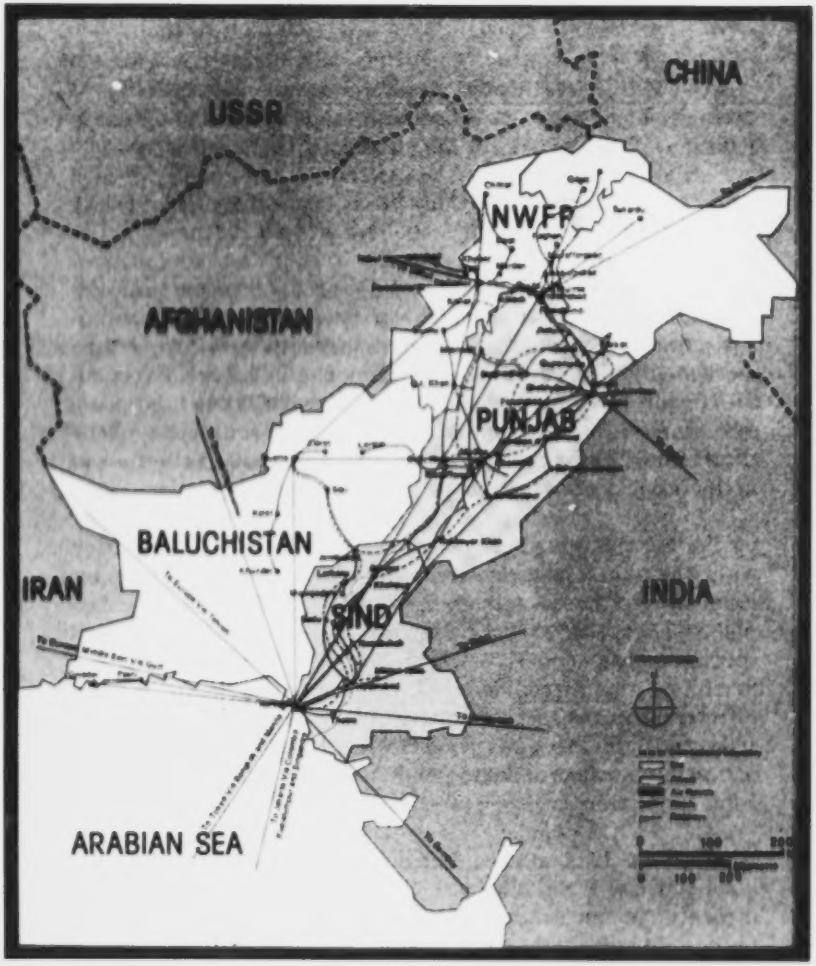

Pakistan.

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Ethnic Minorities and the Development of Tourism in the Valleys of North Pakistan

By Gérard Rovillé

Over the last twenty years, research and studies have increasingly addressed the economic and socio-cultural consequences of tourism, particularly its implications for Third World countries. Most of the work has concentrated on coastal resorts and places with large numbers of tourists but little has been written on the high mountain regions and the isolated or semi-isolated peoples outside of Europe.

Studies within Europe show that mountain areas attract tourism, so there can be no reason why similar mountainous regions in Central and South Asia should be any different. Mountainous regions share several characteristics, such as altitude, interrupted terrain, and confined valleys. This article looks at tourism in North Pakistan, which is a high mountain region situated between 32 and 37 degrees north. In addition to the ecological, demographic and socio-economic phenomena discussed by Gruber (1981) in his article on expedition tourism and its effects in Baltistan, we shall add some discussion of cultural and political factors, direct and indirect, which arise from the reciprocal interrelationship between notion hosts and tourists (cf. Frembgen, 1983b).

It will not be possible to consider all the problems which have accompanied the arrival of tourism to North Pakistan (1). However, we shall look briefly at the physical and human geography of the area, the image North Pakistan has for the tourist, as promoted in the travel literature and the tourist publications, and the evolution of the tourist trade. After this we shall consider the question of political events in terms of national integration and the social consequences that tourism can have in the mountain regions.

The physical and human geography and the tide of tourism

North Pakistan (2) is a mountainous region which is situated at the point where the following mountain ranges meet: the Hindu-Kush and the Hindu-Raj in the southwest and west, Pamir in the northwest, Karakoram in the north and northeast and the Himalayas in the east and southwest. It consists of two major regions, the North and the Extreme North. The North comprises the sub-

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Himalayan valleys of Swat, the Middle Indus and Khagan, including the plains of the Punjab, the Indus and the line of the Himalayan/Hindu-Kush peaks. The Extreme North comprises the valleys and mountains situated between this line of peaks and those of Karakoram and South Pamir, forming the frontier between Pakistan on one side and Chinese Turkestan and Afghan Wakham on the other.

Modern housing in Kalam, Swat (Airline brochure).

The sub-Himalayan valleys open out towards the south which provides a way for the summer monsoons to enter the region. Every year the rains empty their last reserves of water on the southern flanks of the Himalayan/Hindu-Kush barrier. The second region, in contrast, belongs more to Central Asia, because of its traditional neighbourly relations, partly with Kashmir, Ladakh and Tibet and partly with Central Asia itself (cf. Fussman, 1986). After being an area of international communication during the centuries when Buddhism and international commerce flourished along the "Silk Route", the region became more and more isolated, first because of the Tibetan invasions in the 18th century and later, with the arrival of Islam and the conversion of the inhabitants to the new faith (cf. Jettmar, 1980; Rovillé, 1985; 1987). In the 19th century the mountain

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area was the centre of frontiers between British India, China and the Tzarist Empire. The division was based on strictly geo-strategic imperialist interests and had detrimental consequences for the local population. The point of access between the region and the rest of the world shifted from Central Asia to the South and this intensified their isolation. (3) This area was disturbed again in 1947 at Partition when, after a revolt in Baltistan and the Gilgit Agency, these two valleys were incorporated into India. In 1949, a cease-fire line was created and all of the Extreme North came under the control of the Pakistan Administration. According to the history, the region has been formed as the result of a slow and still continuing process of imperialist policies. In the travel literature, particularly in the tourist brochures where wild elements are accentuated and the image of the inhabitants frequently abused, the region appears, not as a product of history, but as something unalterable. The mountains are portrayed as "these forgotten worlds" or "extremes of the world" (see appendix I).

Tourism developed in the 1950s with the construction of a network of trails, roads and aerodromes at Skardu, Chitral and Gilgit. This development had the aim of 1) breaking through the isolation of these valleys which are difficult to reach in summer and are cut off from the rest of the country during winter and 2) enabling the establishment of a basic infrastructure in the region's sensitive geo-political zones.

Tourism has been stimulated in recent years due to the development of fashionable "jeep-expeditions" and "trekking", which provided an alternative to mountaineering. At the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s the usual "trekking" regions, Nepal and later Ladakh, began to be saturated and Pakistan's mountain tourism took the overflow. Tourism received another boost with the opening of new hotels in the Hunza valley, in Gilgit and Chitral and, since 1986, with permits authorising travel between North Pakistan and Chinese Turkestan through the pass of Khunjerab (4700 m.).

The periods of waves of tourism in the valleys of North Pakistan can be summarised as follows:

a) 1950-1960

Tourism in this period was quite limited, especially when the valley of Swat and the Reinado of Hunza were partly independent. It was quite rare for tourists to be able to enter Hunza and those who did returned with the same picture of a happy, healthy and exceptionally long-lived people. These were seen as "confirmation" of the 19th century claims based on observations which were, to say the least, dubious. The tales of these first post-war visitors formed the image of Hunza which is alive today in tourist circles. Tourism also moved towards another valley of limited access, Chitral, known for it mountainous region dominated by

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Tirich Mir, the highest point of the Hindu-Kush (7780 m.) and the adjacent valleys of Birir, Bomberet and Pumbur, inhabited by the Kalash. The Kaghan valley was only visited occasionally and mostly by foreign mountain expeditions who came to Gilgit or Skardu.

b) The 1970s

This decade saw large changes due to the Pakistan Governments's political takeover of Swat in 1969 and later the deposition of the Emir of Hunza in 1974 when the Karakoram Highway was opened. This period also witnessed the international tourist explosion, though Pakistan stayed on the periphery for some years. We know the role that the "backpacking" movement has played in the development of international tourism. The great "hippy" trails, so discredited by western opinion and well meaning newspapers, became transformed overnight into dream worlds charged with mystery and authenticity - until the tourist agencies discovered their enchantment partly through the "backpacking" literature! Pakistan remained relatively unexploited by western tourist agencies for a long time. This was because the "backpacking" movement and the "India Trail" were described according to a series of stereotypes which were transmitted by word of mouth. Among "backpackers", Pakistan was the "anti-India". It was Muslim and was seen in caricature as a country without liberty, as opposed to India which was impregnated with mysticism, goodwill and individual freedom. (4)

Around 1974/5 a new type of tourism was born which played on the idea of "getting away from the well trodden paths". These trips were a quick reaction to the "grand trek" which had just colonised India, Afghanistan and Kathmandu. It was a tourism which searched for new destinations, putting emphasis on the excitement of discovering little known regions and people at the expense of comfort and with real physical effort. As far as Pakistan is concerned, only the Chitral valley and its neighbour, Kalash, really benefitted. Although the valley of Kaghan experienced a rapid increase in visitors at the same time, the difficulties of the trails into Gilgit through the pass of Babusar were such that most visitors preferred the quicker, less exhausting, and unforgettable panorama of the flight from Rawalpindi to Gilgit, despite it being uncertain and intermittent due to the weather (a Folker F-27 operated the route). Even though Chitral was the main recipient of tourism at the end of the 1970s, the trips by trail or plane were still complements to the round trips whose major component was India or Afghanistan. At the end of the 1970s, marked by the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, there was a considerable drop in tourism to Pakistan as a whole, as well as to the Northern valleys. Places such as Chitral, the most visited, suffered

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the greatest because of their proximity to the frontier and the passes which were held by the Afghan Resistance.

A "Fierce Pathan" (photo: Gérard Rovillé).

c) 1981-1985

Tourism expanded in all the main valleys of North Pakistan during these years. In the Swat valley this was mostly classical circuit tourism - where the valley became a detour for city to city travel via hotels in the Intercontinental chain. Trekking only developed in the Upper Swat and the adjacent valléys (Ushu, Utrot). The region has a bad reputation internationally as being reclusive and the inhabitants, the Pathan, some Gujar and Kohistani, are known as "fierce bandits".

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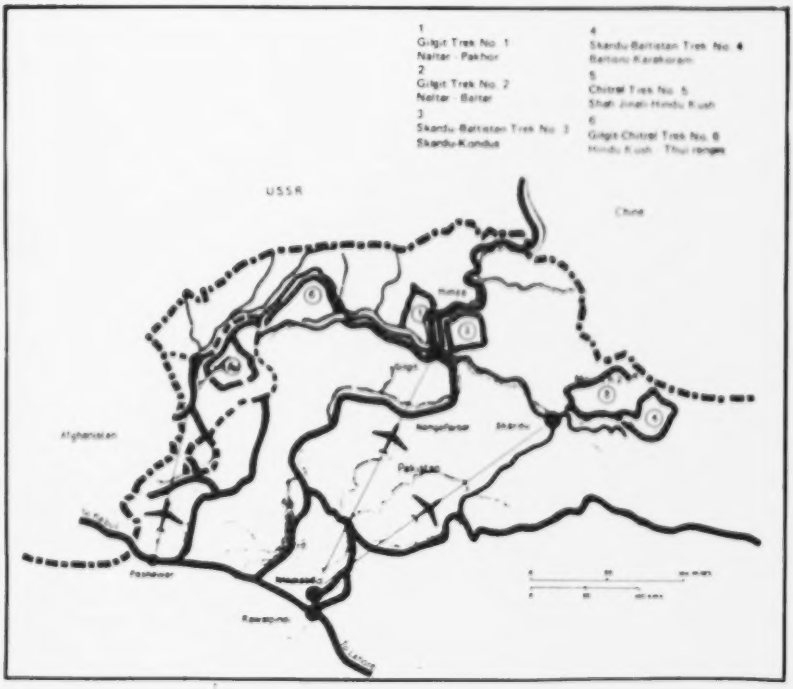
The Kaghan valley has recuperated some of its international traffic but foreign tourists spend only an average of one night in the PTDC (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation) motel in Naran before or after the pass of Babusar. The Chitral and Kalash valleys are frequented by two types of clientele: the first, the classic, who arrive by plane, spend one or two nights in Chitral, and make an excursion during the day to see the peoples of Kalash and return by plane to Peshawar; the second, arrive from Peshawar or Swat by jeep, spending one or two nights in the Kalash valleys, before returning south or continuing north with the aim of reaching Gilgit through the Pass of Shandur. Some "trekking" also takes place during the summer months for a Japanese or German clientele.

During 1982, the Extreme North, Gilgit and Hunza experienced a relative tourist boom, with a monthly average of 70 to 130 people (cf. Frembgen,



Trekking routes in North Pakistan (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation brochure).

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months of July, August (foreign tourists) and September (Pakistani tourists). Trekking is still not very developed in Hunza, and the visitors are happy with a quick trip of 24 hours or a maximum of two to three days.
1983b:176). These figures have been growing since, but they only concern the

The real tourist pressure comes from the increase in the number of mountaineering and trekking expeditions in Baltistan and particularly the valleys of Shigar and Braldo. The expeditions go up Concordia, the confluence of the largest non-polar glaciers in the world and the point of departure for the base camps of the prestigious peaks of Karakoram whose peak, K2, is the second highest in the world at 8611 m. The pessimistic forecasts of Gruber's study in 1981, are being fulfilled. The mountaineering expeditions are bent on setting records, and have recently begun to appear in the brochures of tourist agencies' which specialise in this form of travel. To a certain extent trekking tours have followed this pattern, "collecting" passes of more than 4000 m., then 4500 m. and, in fact, exceeding 5000 m. The trekker's objective is not to discover a region through the trek itself but to go further and higher. A prime activity here is to take photos of the impressionable or grandiose countryside and demonstrate the difficulties of high altitude photography.

As far as the indigenous peoples of the area are concerned, whether the villagers of the valley or the porters, their only purpose is to carry or to smile for the photographs. But, for the trekking tourists, a consequence of having crossed paths with the locals seems to give them the authority to talk of the Balti and other peoples of the high mountains, without knowing them ...and without embarrassment. In spite of the ecological and ethnological emphasis of mountaineering and trekking publicity, these forms of tourism reproduce on their own scale the same stereotypes as "classical tourism" does. Trekkers penetrate more deeply into remote regions and arrive on foot. In this sense, trekking provides no opposition to classical tourism in the majority of cases, but in fact complements it: the work of social destruction by tourism can even be accomplished more efficiently in this way because it brings urban environments into contact with poor and numerically frail rural societies. After more than ten years the expression "beyond the beaten track" is used only in the geographical sense not the philosophical. While walking is a healthy exercise for the trekkers, it does not necessarily make the participants any more interested in the problems of the Third World, in the ecology of the area, in the socio-political relations (within the societies met more than visited) or inter-community relations within and between communities. Furthermore expeditions and treks involve a large number of porters and their tourism work has economic and social consequences, usually unsuspected by the tourist or by the foreign or Pakistani travel agencies (cf. Gruber, 1981:43).

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It might seem surprising to place groups receiving tourists and the tourist image of them together because, as we have shown, tourists create images which are generally devoid of any (local) human element. But it is precisely this omission, this vacuum, that is significant. Indeed in the rare cases where communities are presented in the tourist literature the information is out of context.

From the social point of view, North Pakistan contains a "mosaic of people". The diverse human groups of the area (which we hesitate to call "ethnic groups" (5)) belong to culturally different and often intermixed worlds. However, they have also been, save for a few exceptions, numerically eroded to a few hundred from some thousands of individuals. This fact leads us to two considerations:

a) The complex multiplicity of human groups in North Pakistan makes any perception or understanding of its organisation and functioning extremely difficult. So when travel agencies dare to pretend in their brochures that clients will discover societies and glimpse their "secrets" (see appendix) they are stooping to trickery, not to mention intellectual swindling.

b) From a political perspective, this multitude of groups living in a network of alliances, rivalries and hierarchies, provide a trump card to the groups in power such as the Pakistanis from the cities of the Punjab, Sindhi or the Mo'ajer. (6) Micro-societies which have often already qualified as "Nations", are considered in Pakistan, as in most countries of the Third World, as minorities to be integrated in the gestational "national community". The development of tourism favours the process of national integration which leads to the destructuring of local society at distinct social, political and economic levels. Here we follow Beuchelt (7) who sees acculturation as a necessary precondition for popular tourism, even more than its consequence. Through its effects, tourism can be compared to forms of colonisation, and as far as North Pakistan is concerned, this means internal colonisation under the guise of nationalism. The effect of Pakistani tourism from the cities is in fact more significant than that of foreign tourists in some valleys (Swat, Kaghan, Hunza). To some extent the behaviour of the national tourists are as stereotyped as those of the international tourists, but the former do not question their own attitudes because they are not treated as foreigners. The international tourists, therefore, represent no more than a part of a process that is on the whole dominated, controlled and promoted by national tourism on one hand, and national development plans on the other (cf. Frembgen, 1983b:176). (8)

It is not our intention to use ethnology as a means of producing fictional accounts of communities as isolated or fossilized entities. We must not forget that

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communities or ethnic groups live in symbiosis with other peoples and change with time. We agree with Servier (1986) who says that ethnology's role should not only be as the memory of peoples in the process of disappearing. This would make our science a fruitless tool and give imperialist societies every liberty to destroy local societies through their projects and national companies.

Ethnology ought not only to permit the comprehension and understanding of a society, but of relocating it in its context. Thee are two dimensions to this: the first from the exterior created by the ethnologists, the second from the interior from the social actors. The way in which these two dimensions are related to each other ought to provide the social actors with the means of reflection and control over their own destinies without needing an ethnologist to do this for them. The ethnologist should be aware of the use that could be made of the results of investigations and conclusions. Particularly important here is whether ethnologists' work is to serve the interests of the society studied, in an anti-imperialist perspective, or whether, on the contrary and even at the same time, be serving to promote underhand imperialism (cf. Jones, 1975). It is in this respect that the elaboration of a real anthropology of tourism appears increasingly necessary (cf. Nancy Rovillé, 1986). This ought to enable societies to control their own development, their development through tourism and not their touristic development which is another thing altogether. This would put a stop to planned tourism and look first at studies about touristic resources and the potential (market) demand (cf. Fabre, 1979). It would make more economic, ecological and social sense to begin with a study of the needs of the recipient peoples who are in the process of "touristification", and then, as a result of this study, to evaluate how tourism could be seen as a means of their self-development and within what limits. Thus tourism would serve the interests of the visited communities rather than be a way of reducing the state's balance of payments deficit.

The main groups or communities in North Pakistan are the Pathan, the Gujar, the Kohistani, the Kho, the Kalash, the Shin, the Yeshkun, the Balti, the Hunzakut, the Hagerkut and the Wahki. To these we can add minor groups, few of which have any relation to tourism, such as subdivisions of the above groups. We should not forget, however, that these groups have in some cases complex relations between each other. The largest groups, such as the Kho and Kalash, occupy most of the sub-Himalayan valleys in the Chitral, Rumbur, Brir and Bomberet valleys, while the rest are the largest groups of the Extreme North.

The sub-Himalayan valley populations have a density and size which prevents international tourism getting real power over them in the manner that it has done with the less densely populated segmentary structured societies. The evolution of the Swat Pathan in the sub-Himalayan valleys, for example (cf.Barth, 1976), was affected by the British period, then by the first years of the

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period of Pakistan Independence, and finally, after the Pakistan government took over the semi-independent Swat state in 1969. The current relations of local power and prestige and also of hierarchisation have come about, in part, as transformations of historical economic relations. These transformations could possibly have consequences for the region's tourist development, although up until now the Pathan have not shown much interest in tourism within their own region. The only big hotel investment was originally in the hands of the government through PIA (Pakistan International Airlines) and that has recently been taken over by Tourism Promotion Services (Ltd.) (under the name of the Serena Lodges and Hotels chain) whose capital comes from the Agha Khan, the spiritual leader of the Ismaelian community.

Kalash girls (Tourist brochure).

With respect to international tourism, the Pathan are valued for their image of ferocity, grandeur, virility and also warlike ways but in an almost noble sense. In contrast to this fiercely independent image, the Pathan suffer from the problem of internal colonisation.

The second group which features highly in the tourist publicity on North Pakistan is the Kafir-Kalash. In the Chitral valley the dominant people are the Khowari-speaking Kho. They are Muslims (part Sunnites and part Ismaelian Shi'ites) but nothing is said of this in the tourist literature, or to be more accurate, if they are mentioned, it is usually just to state that they are Muslim. This automatically classifies them as "bad" in relation to the "good" Kalash.

Apart from two good hotels and some lodgings for backpackers, tourism has

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not really left its mark on the city of Chitral. Though tourists have been going there for twenty years, its present bustle dates from the 1980s and the arrival of a large number of Afghan refugees and traffic from the Resistance. Even though tourism is long established in the Chitral area, it is more evident in the neigh-

Chitral (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation brochure).

bouring valleys than in the city itself, which provides no more than an overnight stop or two for "classical" tourist groups and rarely more than three nights for "cultural" visits or expeditions. One fact is significant: Chitral does not have a "tourist bazaar"; in spite of its history of visitors this is remarkable when compared with Kathmandu (certainly frequented more) or Leh or Ladakh. Economically and socially speaking, tourism in Chitral is not very significant. The improvement of the condition of the trails in summer certainly may mean a considerable increase in the flow of visitors in the future as a staging point on the way to the Kalash valley. The opening of the trans-Karakoram highway (KKH)

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will bring a lot of tourists to North Pakistan and this will have repercussions for Chitral as a stop-over place on the way to the Hunza valley.

The situation is completely different for the Kalash valleys even though the tourist clientele is the same as that of Chitral. Tourism for the Kalash has arisen from the interest aroused by ethnologists, linguists and mythologists for over a century. As a non-Muslim enclave in a Muslim world, they have been, and still are, considered as exceptional people. Studies have described their language, myths and in particular their Alexandrine origins (9), and considerable archaeo-ethnological research has centred on the Indo-Aryan civilisation and the Hindu-Kush. Without doubting the intrinsic value of the society we ought to recognise: 1) the discrepancy between these descriptions of the Kalash and their daily life in the tourist period (from May to October) and 2) that these academic descriptions of the Kalash are basically false. The valley of Kalash – where the villages are not all strictly single-ethnic communities – is the focus for the most concentrated tourism in all of North Pakistan. Furthermore the effects of tourism are most marked. The most noticeable of these both to researchers and tourists, is the begging (both from Pakistani and international tourists), the right to charge a fee for taking photographs of the women (10) and the recent production of caps purely for sale to tourists. Because these caps are one of the last material features of Kalash identity, making them into commercial objects and selling them is like commercialising a fictional image of Kalash identity.

Most recent studies fail to show this reality and ignore the great paradox to which academic research on the Kalash has been leading by cultivating a myth of an isolated society fighting against "Muslim invaders"; a myth of the Kalash noble savage has been created which has fuelled the tourist agencies looking for exotic material to provide for their clients (11). What is even more surprising about this fraud is the way the agencies stage "the discovery" of peoples who have been known for a century and give their trip the appearance of an expedition by using a jeep with four wheel drive. But what makes the situation most absurd is that in order to reach these valleys tourists have to hire a vehicle driven by Muslims. The small hotels under construction or in use, mainly those in Bomberet valley, are partly run by Kho Muslims. The profits the Muslims themselves make are used for buying land or building mosques and slowly transforming them into the owners (12) of the best lands in the valley and the neighbouring valleys, thus turning the Kalash themselves into agricultural workers on their own ancient lands. This will sooner or later result in their conversion to Islam in order to improve their relations with their new bosses.

Tourists have been coming to the Kalash valleys over the last twenty years, especially Birir and Bomberet, and since 1982 Rumbur has become accessible by jeep. It is a miracle that there are still only Kalash there (about 1500 persons)

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which shows that they still, and in spite of everything, have a certain dynamic resistance because tourism has a strong propensity to destroy its own resources. Meanwhile, the Pakistan government without taking into account the specific characteristics of the Kalash, nor keeping its promises for development, still hopes to conserve some remnants of "originality" in the Kalash as they are the only hope the Ministry of Tourism has to keep the small tourist economy alive in the district of Chitral (cf. Loude, 1984).

The third "ethnic" group known to the tourist industry in North Pakistan is the community of Hunzakut, and since 1984 the Nagerkut, who live in the twin valleys of Hunza and Nager. The Hunza valley has a summer season when tourists come and the fields on the terraces are green and carefully tended. The Hunzakut are considered to be the most contented people in the world (according to groundless legends which have grown from very uncritical observations made by English travellers). They have become "a people who ignore illness" and whose longevity is exceptional (cf. Bircher, 1942). Unfortunately there have been very few ethnographic studies about the Hunzakut; linguistic studies have been in progress for almost a century, with the aim of elucidating the "mystery" of the Burusho language, while there are currently investigations being carried out on the human geography and the glacial territory of the valley (13). The social organisation, the health conditions, the basis of the myth of exceptional health, the economy of subsistence rather than of abundance, the age pyramid, etc. are fields of study as yet unexplored. Nevertheless, the Hunza valley and its neighbour Nager (where in fact studies have recently begun, cf. Frembgen, 1983a, 1983b, 1985) have mustered a certain tourist development. In the coming years, following the opening of the KKH and the border with China to tourists, it is possible that these valleys will experience an invasion of foreign and Pakistani tourists. The region's image will certainly be changed – but still sellable: inside Pakistan the mountains and fresh air are promoted, outside the Alexandrian myths and the health of the Hunzakut, as well as their membership of the Ismaelite world under the spiritual leadership of the Agha Khan. The latter's fame is more easily sold in terms of tourist publicity than Shi'ism and the brochures do not even mention that Ismaelism is a branch of Shi'ism, just as they do not mention that in the streets and shops of Gilgit, in certain parts of Baltistan and also sometimes in Hunza and Nager, posters with the picture of the Iman Khomeyni are sold next to that of Z.A. Bhutto the former President – explicit signs of the local peoples' opposition to the nationalistic and centralised projects of the present government.

The tourist industry, if not the tourists themselves, demand that any people they visit be happy, and if not, they should at least seem so for the space of the visit and the photos. It is inconceivable that holidays, a time of expensive leisure,

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should be spent among unhappy people; their love of life, poor but smiling, is the "sine qua non" condition of trip's success. Tourists must enjoy visiting a region and be able to forget their day-to-day concerns. The fleeting visions presented in the tourist brochures do not stop tourists taking account of the poverty of the Third World and of coming to quick conclusions about the need for modernisation (westernisation) in the villages. But they do not realise that this kind of reasoning threatens the viability and reliability of the tourist's image of the host culture.

Polo match at Gilgit (Tourist brochure)

To complete the picture, tourists can to take part in a game of polo, a game which originated in the valleys of North Pakistan. The local tourist offices and travel agencies are in charge of organising commercial polo matches without wasting time informing the tourist-spectators about any context apart from the spectacular aspects of the game. What does it matter to the agencies that the social and economic contexts as well as the seasons for the game have been ignored? The polo teams "for the tourists" are usually sad; their games have been made into folkloric performances and have lost all but their financial attraction. The winners' prestige is adulterated and has meaning only for the tourists' cameras, not for their communities. (14)

Polo is also played by the Gilgiti and other groups of Dardes people of North Pakistan, but these are never mentioned in the tourist or travel literature even though they have been the subject of as many historical, ethnological and social studies as the principal groups. Indeed polo has an important role in all human relations throughout the Extreme North of Pakistan.

The final important group of North Pakistan is the Balti who are also curiously absent in the tourist literature, except for those brochures dealing with the high mountains where they only appear as bearers. The Balti are compared generally, but negatively, with the mountain Sherpa of Nepal; the latter are idealised and the former under-estimated. Nevertheless from a social and ethnological point of view the Balti are a Tibetan-speaking people, partly Tibetan in origin and Muslim. It is certainly their double identity, Tibetan-Muslim, which has prompted the few serious studies done so far, as Tibetologists are generally not interested in Islam and the Islamologists do not speak Tibetan. There is very little scientific or travel literature on the Balti (cf. Jettmar, 1978, Rovillé, 1985, Murphy, 1977)

The negative image of the Baltis' mountaineering and trekking abilities that has spread around the world does not seem to have come from direct comparisons made with the Sherpa. The reputation seems to have arisen from bad interpretations of these comparisons made, for example, in the first reports of mountaineering expeditions in the 1950s and 1960s. This was a period of sizeable Himalayan expeditions of which anachronistically the French National Expedition of 1979 to K2 was very similar. This expedition employed a record number of 1600 porters for a 25 person team where a third of the porters were carrying food supplies. The expedition's mountaineers were preoccupied by the short periods of favourable weather conditions for launching an assault on the peaks, and were frequently horrified at the length of the approach which in the Karakoram tends to be particularly long compared with the more frequented Central Himalayas. Being in terrain with different landscape, with less frequented trails and much longer crossings it is quite normal that the walks were longer and more strewn with difficulties. Furthermore the Balti did not welcome the arrival of Sherpa during the first years of the Himalayan expeditions when the latter were the only recognised expedition porters in high mountains. (Actually the same thing happened in Nepal itself in the area of Annapurna and Daulaghiri when the Gurung grew tired of seeing Sherpa in their valleys carrying and reaping the benefits of work they were capable of doing themselves (cf. Tilman, 1951).)

Today the Balti have transport consignments and work to an official scale for loads, daily distance, altitude and salary. These are seen as safeguards against certain mountaineering teams who through a scarcely hidden colonial attitude think only of breaking records.

Closer attention to Balti society dissolves many misunderstandings; they live in the heart of the mountains, sometimes at high altitudes but rarely at as high as the Tibetan peoples of Nepal. This is because of the nature of the terrain with its very steep slopes, enclosed glacial valleys, an irrigation network derived

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from the glaciers (cf. Charles, 1981; Schneider, 1969) which confines cultivation to the land below the level of the glaciers, a lack of water and frequently a lack of exploitable terraces. For these reasons, and because they live among some of the highest mountains in the word, the Balti do not frequent the great glaciers which lead to the base camps because they do not connect with other valleys, as for example the direct traditional route Skardu/Nager/Hunza by way of the Biafo and Hispar glaciers (100 km. with a pass of 5151 m.). Furthermore, the Balti, who form the main part of the community of porters, are Shigar Muslims; Nurbakhshi Shi'ites and the other Duodecimal Shi'ites do not always have the same rituals nor the same practices and behaviour with respect to Ramadan and daily prayers.

Baltistan, Indus River gorge (photo: Gérard Rovillé).

To round off the descriptive image and tourist image of North Pakistan and as a compliment to the descriptions from tourist agencies' publicity material in Appendix I, in Appendix II we present an analysis of an official tourist document from the PTDC (Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation) on "Northern Areas" and another on "Trekking in Pakistan".

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In conclusion...Minorities, What Future is there?

Tourism and the control of tourist development do not solve the question of the future of the minorities of North Pakistan because they are no more than aspects of a much greater and more urgent phenomenon. In spite of the low population, the valleys of North Pakistan, and more particularly the northern valleys, are in fact overpopulated. The official population density of 5 inhabitants per sq.km. in Baltistan for example does not make any sense unless related to the area of exploitable and exploited land. Baltistan is a desert of rocks and ice dotted with oases there the population density reaches 400 to 1000 inhabitants per sq.km. according to estimations made by western geographers. Official statistics on the demography of the border region are kept secret. The situation is more or less the same in the Nager and Hunza valleys.

The Ladakhi Buddhists have a measure of control over their demography through polyandry on the one hand and monachism on the other. The Balti share some aspects of their ethnic origin with the Ladakhis and even more with the other peoples of North Pakistan, but through their conversion to Islam they do not recognise means of regulating their demography. Tourism can therefore appear as a means of development but the first effects are not, in fact, positive (cf. Gruber, 1981:43). In fact through the intermittent wages earned from portering for expeditions, agriculturalists can earn at least as much, if not a little more, in a shorter period than that they would gain from work in the fields which is often hard because of climatic and technical conditions.

For this reason many men of portering age try to get contracts as porters in the summer. They leave agricultural work which cannot, for practical and cultural reasons, be carried out by the women and thus leads to a decrease in yields. Fields which could produce two harvests per year do not produce even one. With regard to the overpopulation this means that the region is entitled to receive grain from the "National Logistic Corporation", under central government control but dependent on the armed forces and at the mercy of the hazards of the route from Islamabad. As transported products are more expensive than local produce, inflation hits the valleys and villages which do not supply porters.

Another solution is rural exodus to the large southern cities in search of unskilled work such as portering in the bazaars of Lahore, Multan or Karachi or as servants in the houses of high officials or diplomats in Islamabad. Some Gilgiti and Hunzakut have curiously managed to get jobs as taxi drivers in Karachi, where there are also Chitrali (Kho). On the other hand, some Hunzakut, Gilgiti or Chitrali and also Pathan have become students at college in Peshawar, in Rawalpindi or more rarely in Lahore or Karachi; the Kalash and Balti are almost totally absent there. But during the course of conversations we have had

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with "educated people" (15) the Kalash and Balti appear to be almost unknown to the Pakistani from the plains and are considered unsuited to further education. This is a very colonial attitude for a country so recently emerged from decolonisation. Recently some middle class families have felt a certain educational responsibility towards the "backward people from the Northern areas" (an almost time-honoured expression!): servants from the plains have become expensive so this philanthropy has involved giving people from the northern valleys a religious attachment which covers up less honest intentions. The Kalash are not Muslims but are poor. The young girls, and preferably the unmarried, are employed as servants by businessmen or officials in Rawalpindi or Islamabad for miserable wages, and being non-Muslims they have a reputation for being loose women, at least in the big cities, and are wanted for this rather than for simple household duties. This reputation appears to have grown among the city population and is threatening to lead to forms of internal tourism oriented towards prostitution. To date we have no direct accounts of these practices among the Kalash, and our information (1985) is only from members of the Islamabad middle classes, but it includes details from young unmarried Kalash and businessmen who have made professional visits to the Chitral region and who boast of lost opportunities. The very fact that such conversations take place suggests that they must have some basis in reality. The increasing poverty experienced by the Kalash population could act as an incentive to these kinds of practices in a period where the Pakistan Government (a military regime since 1985) has fought against prostitution, forbidding the activities of "dancers" for a time.

The peoples of North Pakistan cannot really control their own development as few of them are educated to a high enough degree. However, the region is of prime importance strategically. As far as the development of tourism is concerned, it is significant that there is only one Pakistan travel agency whose directors come from the North - Karakoram Tours from Khapalu in Baltistan. But the principal promotor of the agency - a member of the family of the ex-Rajas of this city - is not properly-speaking a Balti, because, as a general rule, all the dynasties of North Pakistan should be of foreign origin. The man in question here has an English mother. In spite of this he tries as much as he can within the limits of his commercial confines, to harmonize the activities of his agency in the region. Nothing like this happens in Hunza where the Hunzakut hotel managers are only concerned with their businesses. This is especially the case with hotels frequented by groups of affluent tourists. However these will probably soon be taken over by the Serena Lodges and Hotels chain which is administered in Karachi.

The improvement of the road network allows minibuses to drive from

Peshawar or Rawalpindi and supercedes the traffic controlled by the jeep drivers from Gilgit, Kaghan and Chitral. One solution to this would perhaps be to adopt the Ladakhi drivers' way of working, where they installed a system of internal traffic restrictions and prohibitions in Ladakh for non-Ladakhi drivers (Kashmires). This was the only way the workers could recover their investments in cars and also assure the economic survival of the Ladakhi families involved.

Near Khapalu, Baltistan (photo: Gérard Rovillé).

Today tourism is developing considerably and so North Pakistan provides an interesting laboratory for the study of its socio-cultural and economic implications on ethnic minorities in high mountain environments. The Nepalese and Ladakhi examples may help to formulate new solutions, bearing in mind that their cultural milieu is different and that changes will be necessary everywhere. However, while there should be a basic capacity and will to control tourism in accordance with the interests of the people themselves, who are at present unaware of what is happening, the governmental authorities should become aware of the risks of the "tourist pollution" which is threatening North Pakistan.

Unfortunately we do not have the optimism (though realistic and moderate) that Fürer-Haimendorf (1975) had regarding the potential for developing the local tourism of the Sherpa of Nepal, but we also feel that local potential does exist,

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though perhaps unequally distributed through the valleys of North Pakistan, to control at least a significant amount of the tourism movement and effects in the near future. Nevertheless it is certain that local capacity for, and local control of, investment is very limited. In order to secure this control, local study commissions should be set up to represent the different communities in order to present a united front to unscrupulous investors or to the proponents of "Development regardless of Culture" (cf. Nieuwenhuijze, 1984). The approach should strive to avoid violence and local hegemony in the northern valleys and enable each people to take control of their own self-development.

Notes

1. The author is currently researching the socio-cultural and political impacts of the development of tourism in North Pakistan with CEI and EHESS/Paris.
2. Though is it not an academic expression, the term North Pakistan is used here. In a very restricted sense it refers to the sub-Himalayan regions, the northern part of which is the Extreme North or Upper Northern Territory.
3. This began during the sack of Kashmir by the Mongols in the 16th century.
4. The author was able to analyse these collective experiences a-posteriori, as he took part in the backpacking movement before dedicating himself to ethnology. For more see Moscovici 1981 pp.115 245.
5. Here we agree with Amselle (1985) in his relativisation of the term *ethnie* as opposed to the definition of this term and concept by Breton (1981) where he amalgamates ethnic group/nation state.
6. The Mo'ajer (refugees) are Muslims originating from the regions which passed to India at Partition in 1947 and who opted for Pakistan. The majority left the plains of North India and are used as examples and spearheads for Pakistani nationalism in that they were not Pakistani due to the force of events and geography at the moment of Partition but were so by their own will and their political and religious commitments. Furthermore, as displaced people, the Mo'ajer do not have a concept of regionalism, they are tied regionally to a native soil in the bosom of the national territory and are in general hostile to all form of regionalisation. As for the Punjabi and the Sindhi, they have a tendency to feel themselves superior to other Pakistanis and are invested with a national mission. As they form the majority of tourists to North Pakistan the consequences for relations between the majorities and minorities are obvious.

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7. In spite of the apparent low number of tourists visiting North Pakistan today (statistics are impossible to get), we can still talk of temporary (summer) mass tourism in Chitral, Hunza, in the valleys of Shigar and Braldo or Baltistan and in Swat (Pakistani tourists) cf. Frembgen, 1983b:175; Gruber, 1981:32, 36-37. Regarding neighbouring Ladakh see Eppler, 1983; Pitsch, 1985:41-65.
8. We disagree with Höhfeld (1986:199-200) here when, after studying the movement of tourists and excursions of the Turks in Turkey, he concludes that urban people and westernised classes are better at promoting tourism in the modern sense than rural classes.
9. According to the myths, a large number of peoples of North Pakistan consider themselves descendants of Alexander the Great - or his soldiers. This originated in the Alexandrian period and though the myths were taken over by the Arabian and Muslim chroniclers they only recently re-emerged in the 19th century. The British saw in the pre-Hellenic Romanticism a means of trying to reconcile the different peoples living in the high regions which were strategical for the Indian Empire against Tsarist Russia. The tradition has expanded again among the peoples of the North Pakistan valleys with the introduction of Pashtou (Pathan) myths of Semitic origins or origins in certain dynastic lines (Makpon of Skardu, etc.) of Baltistan or Shin of Gilgit who present themselves as descendants of Arabs or Islamicised Jews from the lost Tribes of Israel. Even certain Duodecimal Shi'ite dynasties (Moghlut of Nager), have Persian myths of origin and these myths - Semitic for the Sunite dynasties, Persian for the Shi'ite dynasties - are valued in a Muslim context, just as the Ladakhi dynasties say they originate from Lhassa in Tibet. The non-dynastic upper classes consider themselves to be descendants of Alexander the Great or his soldiers, a paraphrase for not having a local origin, (though some of Alexander's soldiers and mercenaries were recruited from the area) (cf. Loude, 1980:152-162, 1984:25; Robertson, 1896; Frembgen, 1985).
10. This is because it is the women's caps (*koupass* or *Chouchouttess*) that the tourists want to photograph most.
11. Agencies will never mention that, in spite of certain purification rites, the Kalash along with other mountain peoples of Central Asia (e.g. Tibetans) have a tendency to be dirty. Whatever the reasons, practical or cultural, and the local relation to the dirt (cf. Douglas, 1967:chapter 2) this fact is not publicised. But in the same way no mention is made of the possible social destructuring which can result from contact through different relations between the tourists and the locals with respect to the dirt.
12. Sometimes owners use straw men or figure heads.

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13. See e.g. Lorimer, 1927; Charles, 1981; Schneider, 1969; Paffen, 1956.
14. As far as we know there are no studies on the social role of polo but see Rovillé, 1977; Azoy, 1982, on equestrian games in Central Asia.
15. The expression "educated people" usually means that the speaker speaks English which is the popular and absolute criterion for education in Pakistan.

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Appendix I

Without wanting to exhaust the repertoire of "sayings" used, the following are some examples taken from French travel brochures and itineraries (1983-1987).

Visage du Monde Paris, brochure for summer 1983 and winter 83-84 for Pakistan (p.3).

Pakistan is a gateway...in turn invaded by Cyrus, Darius, Alexander the Great, Genghis Khan, Tamerlan. Most of all it is Alexander who left most trace before (the Mongols)..."

Pakistan exaggerates its mountainous relief, eaten into by numerous ravishing valleys...".

"...the Kalashs, impervious to Islam have conserved their religion, their dress and their rules".

"...the Karakoram...is inhabited by the Hunza who are descended, according to the legend, from three of Alexander's soldiers who married local women."

"...the lost valleys of Gilgit and Chitral. Gilgit, a paradise of coolness and calm...Chitral, encircled by luxurious vegetation, is buttressed by a series of hills and dominated by the peak of Tirich Mir" (author's note: Tirich Mir ' 7708 m. - some hill'). "...completely isolated in their way of life and have remained unchanged."

"The Hunza valley, one of the most beautiful sights in the mountains...here...we rediscover the last descendants of the soldiers of Alexander the Great. They do not use money, ignore the wheel, but live happily and have an incredible longevity."

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(Author's note: Why would they use the wheel on narrow paths at an angle of 35 degrees or more? How can they be ignoring the wheel when a motorway crosses the valley? What do the hotel managers and shopkeepers get in payment from the tourists if they don't use money?...etc.)

Kuoni Distant Continents Paris, Grand Tour of Pakistan. Brochures from 1985 (p.88) and 1986 (p.89).

Hunza is a mystery for biologists. On the floor of this happy valley the people live to be older than anywhere else... Karimabad, Ismaelite town, living for the most part on gifts from the Agha khan."

"Gilgit, a town-street bordered by stalls where you can take part in a polo match, the sport of the region."

"Chitral (1150 m.) territory of the Kafir-Kalash who have conserved their religion, their customs and their laws."

"...depart by jeep for the Hunza valley (2240 m.) a small kingdom whose inhabitants have intrigued a great number of anthropologists because of their longevity."

Akiou/Paris – The Art of Good Travelling Brochure 1986: The Grand Civilisations of Pakistan; 1987: The Legendary Caravans of Central Asia.

"In the steps of Alexander the Great, the route across disregarded Pakistan, charged with 5000 years of history, will be complete by the discovery of the high valleys of the buttresses of the Himalayas and the *astonishing Aryan peoples*, Kafir-Kalash and Pathans" (author's italics).

"From the oasis of Takla-makan to the snow capped peaks of Karakoram, a prize...the route follows *exactly* the Silk Road, from the Chinese province of Xinjiang to Pakistan".

(author's italics – the pass taken on the trip was not the great travel road in the histories and this route was only an appendix to the Silk Route!)

Go Voyages, Paris, Go Asia brochure 1987.

Specialising in individual *a la carte* trips, this company essentially presented information on the countries and the possibilities of assembling route by a "kit". p.86: "the high and savage mountains of the north..."

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Asia Tours Paris, 1986 brochure for Pakistan (p.20).

"Discover in high valley of Pamir and Karakoram, tracks which have been used by caravans and invaders throughout centuries. A region of the world where one is faced with kilometers of Russia, China and India, valleys where the descendants of the soldiers of Alexander divided their conquest of the world. A voyage of discovery...where one must put up with precarious conditions of transport and *conditions necessary* for a voyage to exceptional places." (author's italics).

"A day's journey by jeep and on foot in one of the three valleys of Kafiristan where the tribes of Kafirs Kalash live under the stamp of animism and matriarchy." (Author's note: apart from not knowing by whom they are constrained or has tried to stamp them, I think that the Kalash women would like very much to know that they reigned in a matriarchal society, they who are considered impure and forbidden to frequent the temples.)

Assinter, Paris, 1985 and 1986 brochures for Pakistan in 21 days (p.5/1985; p.4/1986).

"Taking wing for Gilgit in the Gilgit valley, the marvel of the Himalayas" becomes "Taking wing for Gilgit, the ancient resting place in the Silk Road in a magnificent Himalayan valley."

"...the beauty of the Hunza valley is exceptional. Hunza is a state that has only recently become unified with Pakistan which consists of 150 small villages. You *rediscover the Kurtz and find out* the secret of their longevity..." (author's italics. Each reference to this region mentions the Kurtz only in connection with their longevity ...in a region where life expectancy is around 45 years! In fact the inhabitants of Hunza and Nager are called the Hunzakut and Nagerkut in Burushkashi but this is never mentioned in the brochures from one year to the next.)

Jet Tours, Paris 1985-6 brochure, day trips to Shalimar (Pakistan-India:p.149).

"Indian and Islam, these two words *suffice* to define the soul of Pakistan...It is a secret and grandiose Orient, a real mosaic of *engaging people, sometimes astonishing* which you will discover, *helped* by a Jet Tours guide-lecturer, through the *small kingdoms* of the high northern valleys..." (Author's italics: the myth of the noble savage, engaging and astonishing, just like a lap-dog!)

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Three tourist views of North Pakistan (Pakistan Tourist Development Corporation brochure).

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Les Amis del'Histoire-Clio, Paris, Pakistan programme 1985

"...we will visit Punial...this little town, unchanged since the Middle Ages...If we are lucky, perhaps we will catch a glimpse of the Raja!"

"We depart for the ancient kingdom of Hunza celebrated for the longevity of its inhabitants..Karimabadt, the capital of obsolete charm...then we will walk through this rich area with orchards in flower and pine forests towards the mountains. The coolness of the spot, the local costumes and the sight of the elevated streets will be an unforgettable moment."

(Author's note: in these passages we have not underlined anything because it is all worthy of underlining. Clio makes an association for travellers "concerned" with history but it is manifestly the economy and geography they mention: the flowering orchards in August, on the date set for the trip, they are as rare in Hunza as they are in Switzerland or in France; the inhabitants stopped using their traditional costumes over 20 years ago and now only the members of reigning families possess them, otherwise one has to go back to the 19th century; as for the temperature in August it is no more cool and fresh than in Gilgit which (cf. Visages du Monde) has nothing to do with coolness, more like a furnace.)

In its programme "Extraordinary Voyage - Pakistani Himalayas: the Celestial Valleys" the travel company Antilope uses the same themes of calm and solitude for Gilgit "a place of insolent beauty", the secret of the longevity of the Hunzakut, of the Raja of Punial "who you will perhaps catch a glimpse of", and adds a lyrical passage on the Swat: "orchards to the open sky where impetuous torrents gush down the mountains cascaded in flowers and melting into glacial lakes during the less cold months." (p.14 1986/7 brochure).

We end this revue of tourist literature with some technical insights from Visage du Monde and Terres d'Aventure, the latter a specialist in walking...or trekking.

Fiche Visage du Monde - Jeep Safari, Pakistan 1983

"Depart in the morning for the Bomberet valley in the province of Kafir Kalash. Discover an enchanting example of human ethnic groups. Natural harmony and the essence of humanity."

(Author's note: what is a non-human ethnic group? As for the harmony of the countryside and humanity's essence, they are a small people, numerically, who live clinging to the semi-arid mountains sides, trying with difficulty to scratch a living out of it every day of the year; the same can be said for the rich Hunza valley where the major problem is having enough food in reserve in au-

tumn to last through to spring. The tourist literature presents only an opulence and *joie de vivre* because they have some trees - be they Sri Lankan coconut palms or the apricot trees of Hunza. Tourism as a means of understanding the Third World! It is notable that every time this agency mentions Balti porters for trekking is begins with "a Balti guide is only able to make changes in the itinerary in accordance with the Expedition Leader." Further on it adds "Pakistani porters have actually been given a bad press. But this has derived in part from expeditions needing hundreds of porters." If the argument is set out in the agency's publicity then the traveller is likely to be *a priori* aggressive towards the local porters, recognising that there have been problems, above all with mountain expeditions, as is mentioned in this article.)

Technical notes Terres d'Aventure, Himalayas and Karakoram 1986, programme for the Kalash Valleys and Crossing the Hindu Raj.

"...In this world of good Muslims, the route will permit the discovery of anomalies of history: the Kalash people, otherwise called Kafirs, infidels. In passing the tree trunks disguised as bridges, one reaches villages with sculpted totems indicating pagan sanctuaries. The men make wine, the women wear huge black robes with red pearl necklaces..."

(Author's note: a surprising division of labour! In its favour, this travel company is one of the very few in France which mentions the presence in Chitral and surrounds of an important community of Afghan refugees and the hold the resistance has in this valley. It shows, nevertheless, how the mention of this has had unfavourable effects on tour profits.)

Appendix II

The Image of North Pakistan in the Tourist Brochures of the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC).

While the Pakistan Government feels that its Tourist Offices outside Pakistan have not provided a strong enough attraction, there is however, a literature, generally in brochure form and edited by the PTDC, which it is sometimes possible to procure in the many tourist bureaus are throughout the country.

The tourist brochures dealing with the valleys of North Pakistan almost never vary from year to year, and the remarks of R. Ali and R. Ferras on the determined image that Pakistan gave them in 1975 has not changed. By way of

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a preview we present a quick breakdown of the brochures concerning the "Northern Areas" and "Trekking".

Northern Area brochures:

In this groups there are 36 photos of often mediocre quality divided between the following themes:

High mountain scenery without people	8
As above with trekkers	9
As above with locals	0
Verdant countryside, general views	6
Refreshing lakes in valleys with tourists	4
Kalash inhabitants	3
Non Kalash inhabitants (Hunzakut)	1
Monuments, motels	3
Folkloric scenes (Gilgiti)	2

Only 15% of the views include North Pakistan inhabitants, furthermore the choice and the situations signify little imagination, but they should be put in relation with the 36% of views with tourists.

As for the text, this not only sums up the Hunzakut in two lines by mentioning that they are Ismaelites but, of course, has some lines on the fact that the Kalash are pagans, and how the women wear huge black robes and have beautiful hair. When the national tourist offices give the examples of this sort, how can they dare to demand that the local foreign agencies be more original and interesting?!

Trekking in Pakistan brochure

The same type of brochure which makes one want to go somewhere else! There is a list of six itineraries, day by day, where one of the strong features of each tour is the flight bringing one back to one's point of departure! There is one single human aspect referred to: Balti hospitality in the isolated Kondus valley!

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Tourism in the Upper Amazon and its Effects on the Indigenous Population

By Annemarie Seiler-Baldinger

Introduction

Tourism is only one of many problems facing the indigenous peoples of the Amazon. In contrast to the missions, various kinds of resource extraction and colonists (1) tourism is a recent problem and one which has not been studied much in this part of the world.

Using mainly the Yagua and Tukuna indigenous peoples as examples, this paper hopes to show how, and under what circumstances, tourism has developed in the Upper Amazon and what its effects are on the culture and way of life of the indigenous peoples of the region.

The minimum conditions necessary for the development of tourism in a region are:

1. natural or "cultural" attractions;
2. easy access;
3. a minimal infrastructure (accommodation, medical services etc.).

The Upper Amazon has these three characteristics. It offers the natural attraction of the largest rivers in the world and the "ostensible" (2) jungle which is called alternatively a "Green Hell" or a "Botanical Paradise" according to the public at whom the tourist propaganda is aiming.

Included in this "exoticism" are the indigenous peoples who inhabit the region or who have been relocated for purposes of the tourist industry. "Our programme naturally includes a visit to an Indian village" (Sinbad Travel Agency, Zurich 84-85:14).

Easy access is guaranteed by daily flights from Lima to Iquitos (Peru) and from Bogotá to Leticia (Colombia); furthermore there is a flight twice a week which connects Manaus with Iquitos. At the end of 1984, after a break of 10 years, river transport between these two cities was re-established. (3) As one moves into the hinterland the communication network is minimal and fragmentary. (4) The tourism infrastructure focuses on Iquitos and Leticia near which the Yagua and Tukuna peoples live. The towns have hotels, boarding houses, restaurants, souvenir shops and travel agencies which organise excursions to

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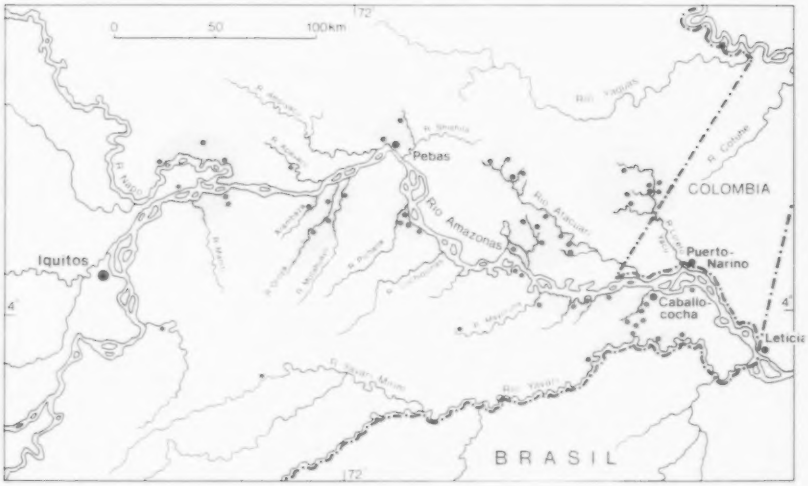

Distribution of Yagua communities in Peru (1971-1978) (Jørgen Ulrich).

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their "Tourist Lodges". On the whole the conditions for the development of tourism in the Upper Amazon are already there.

The History of Tourism between Iquitos and Leticia

The history of tourism in the Upper Amazon is closely linked with the development of steamer navigation (since 1853) and the internationalisation of the Amazon (1866).

In those days a trip up the Amazon took months and tourists, or more properly speaking adventurer-travellers, were rare. The majority of Europeans and Americans who ventured into the region were biologists, botanists, marine engineers or the families of boundary commission employees. Their descriptions of the natural beauty or the indigenous people's customs formed the basis of the present tourist interest. In honour of those visitors the indigenous people performed dances and rituals. Captain Herndon of the US Marines wrote in his diary after a visit he made to the Yagua village of San José on the 15.11.1851: "The Indians went back with us to the convent and entertained us with music whilst we breakfasted...On Monday we visited the houses of the Indians to see what curiosities we would get" (1953:225). Today almost the same thing continues: "After breakfast we will visit the primitive Yagua Indians" or "After lunch our travels will take us to the village of the Tukuna of Arara...You will see them making their artisan goods..." (Turamazonas Brochure, Leticia 1984).

These kind of visits have very little influence on the indigenous people. It was during the rubber boom (1853-1911) (5) that the region first began to be visited by a tourism consisting exclusively of very affluent businessmen and holiday makers. At least one part of the enormous wealth that the "rubber barons" made for themselves at the expense of the lives of thousands of indigenous people and rubber extractors, was invested in the development of Manaus and Iquitos. In 1903, Iquitos (6) had 14,000 inhabitants, 3 hotels, a tramline and a theatre (Rumrill, 1983:55). Leticia (7) was in this period a small customs post of 50 people which served the commercial interests of the Yavari (Fuentes II, 1908:150).

Tourism in this period, was therefore exclusively urban and limited to Iquitos. It was of no significance for the indigenous population whose immediate problems were forced labour and deportation. The end of the rubber boom also signalled the end of this incipient tourism. The two World Wars, the great depression and the armed conflicts between Brazil and Colombia over Leticia from 1932-33 (8) which had been taken by Colombia from Brazil in 1902, were largely responsible for the lack of the development of tourism. In 1950 there were no hotels in Leticia because visitors were extremely rare. The monthly flight from Bogotá was regarded as a great event (Philipson 1952:191).

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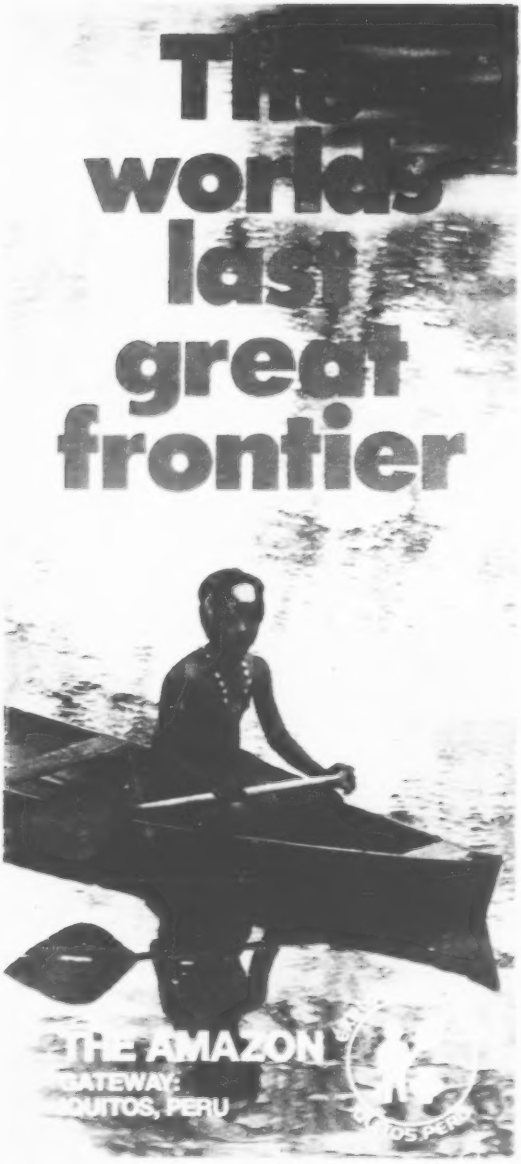

"The world's last great frontier" (Tourist brochure).

The situation changed during the 1960s due to the improvement in the world economy. Regular air flights, modern hotels and economic hostels began to attract tourists again. Nevertheless, this development was not constant. Unfortunately there are few statistics for this, and those that do exist are not very reliable. (9)

In Leticia, for example, tourism began in 1965, reached its maximum level between the years 1969-1976, decreased after 1978 and surged up again in 1984. (10)

The future prognosis is very difficult due to the unstable situation in this triangle of land bordered by three different nation states. The development in Iquitos (350,000 or more inhabitants) was most constant. The infrastructure that has been there since the rubber boom was brought back into use and in 1965 the first "Albergue Turístico" was opened. By 1975 there were five operators specialising in jungle excursions, four of whom included a visit to the Yagua in their programmes. This revival was also due to oil strikes during the years 1971-1976 in the Río Corrientes (affluent of the Río Tigre) (11) area which made Peru into an exporter of hydrocarbons.

Nevertheless at the end of 1981 the pattern reversed and caused the closure of many souvenir businesses and groans of despair from the tourism sector. It is difficult to predict the future but one thing is certain: the Amazon Pact countries (Peru, Brazil, Colombia, Bolivia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Surinam and Guayana) are firmly committed to developing tourism in the Amazon (Article XIII), and ORDELORETO in Peru has a plan for tourism integration in the Yavari-Caballo Cocha region (*Plan de desarrollo microregional eje Yavari Caballo Cocha*, Iquitos, 1981) due to the fact that up till today the region has been utilised almost exclusively by Colombian tourist companies.

Indigenous People as "Showbusiness"

Companies specialising in tourism have always, that is from 1965, included visits to the indigenous people in their tourist programmes. It was not difficult to choose which group because there was only one group left in the vicinity of both cities which did not use western clothes: the Yagua. The picturesque clothing that they have worn since the turn of the century is responsible for their destiny. Almost all the tourism brochures and films on the Amazon show photos of this people (and almost always the same individuals). The only problem is that the approximately 3,500 Yagua who still use their traditional costume live in areas which are difficult for the always-pushed-for-time tourist to get to. (12)

At the beginning of the "tourist euphoria" period in the 1970s, expeditions were often organised from Leticia into the jungle (e.g. to the middle course of

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the rivers Atacuari, Lorto Yacu and Cotuhé - in some cases the travel was by seaplane). The difficulties in reaching these areas, due to the variable height of the rivers, resulted in several accidents with the transport boats and eventually in the 1970s the changing quality of tourism (adventure trips, educational trips, short holiday trips) effectively contributed to limit these excursions into indigenous territory. Today these trips are an exception and are not offered in any of the tour programmes.

Instead, the same tour operators have relocated families or complete groups in the environs of the towns or the river Amazon and have built "tourist lodges" nearby to facilitate the tourist visits. This is the case for the six Iquitos tourist agencies as well as those from Leticia, which have recently moved "their" people from Peru (Alto Loreto Yacu) to Colombia (Q. Tucuchira) opposite the Isla de los Micos (Seiler-Baldinger 1980:247, 984).

As for the forced relocations, a sad tradition in the Amazon (13), they can be substantiated by the testimonies of the indigenous peoples themselves. An unfortunate series of conditions (illnesses, deaths and debts) have forced indigenous communities to follow their patrons, in this case the tourist agencies, to the areas where there are lodges.

The Yagua, Antonio Cahuachi Mozombite, puts its clearly: " Now that we are supposed to be 'civilised' they want to take us alive and move us to the tourist hotels to force us to work for miserable pay and often making us demoralising things to satisfy the tourists in return for giving us alcohol" (1984:258). He points out particular cases and ends saying that: "For us as indigenous people, the tourist hotels...are no different from jails in the way we are controlled... we feel like imprisoned slaves...(263). We asked the public authorities to forbid the relocation of families from our communities to the tourist hotels and that those who run these activities be punished (266). If it was not that the tourists and journalists are so evidently ignorant their attitude could be mistaken for cynicism. These Yagua had 'asked' to become a tourist attraction...it became clear that they enjoyed the job ...A group of Jívaros has also express interest in moving to the Río Momón to become a tourist attraction" (Rhodes, 1983:14,22).

Baca (1981) has drawn up a table for the zone under the influence of Iquitos (see also Chaumeil, 1984:26) from which it can be deduced that 46% of the indigenous peoples used as a tourist attraction are Yagua (14). As well as the dates of the establishment of the different hotels and the origin and composition of the communities, there are also data on the "services" and pay that they receive. Included in services are minimal medical services and occasional discounts for transport. The monthly salary per family for the "shows" is on average 40% less than the minimum salary of a worker in Iquitos. It was adding insult to injury when a visiting journalist wrote: "We had been warned...not to give the Yagua

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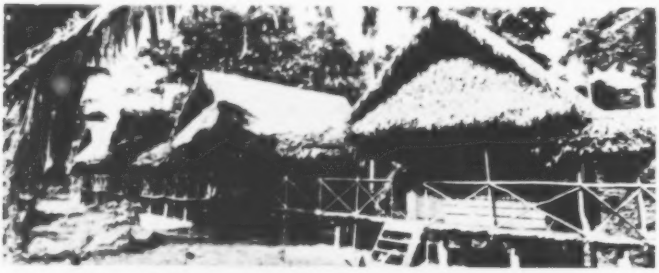
money because the government does not want them to enter the money economy where they could easily be victimised" (Mahoney, 1976:44).

To oppose this, the indigenous communities demanded that on the 22-23rd June, 1984, they received a "just pay" in the Urco Maraño region (Cahuachi Mozombite 1984:266).



Tourist facilities in the Amazon (Tourist brochure).

In Colombia there are 20 families in an even worse situation, in that they are completely isolated, worse paid and for years have been literally stagnating (see Seiler-Baldinger, 1980:245; Martínez Muñoz, 1981; Alvar, 1977:349).

The Tukuna peoples visited by tourists are in a slightly different situation. Here the people live in long-established settlements on the banks of the river Amazon and its tributaries and not in artificial camps. (15) From the tourist's point of view the Tukuna have been less attractive due to their "civilised" ap-

pearance and apparent acculturation. However, they learned from the very start how to defend themselves against the abuses of the tour operators by, among other things, help from the Brazilian National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) post on the Umariacu reserve (16), which though it does not work effectively does exist. At least it was able to curb the visits made from Leticia to the girls' initiation ceremony (called Pelazón) (Seiler-Baldinger, 1980:246). In Colombia (the village most visited is Arara, 340 inhabitants) and Peru (the village most visited is Bella Vista on the Río Cayaru) (17) they have also begun to resist, and above all in Arara where the indigenous people have taken the business into their own hands. Since 1981 there has been a Tukuna on guard at the main entrance of the village called Caño Arara, and entrance charge was raised from 20 pesos to 100-150 pesos per person (20 pesos = 1 US$). Furthermore they have tried to limit the visits to Wednesdays, Fridays, Saturdays and Sundays while photography was only permitted when paid for in advance. This independence of the Arara Tukuna, whose leader was educated in Sutatenza (Boyaca) and whose projects are financed by the Office for Indigenous Affairs (*Dirección de Asuntos Indígenas*) and the DIGIDEC (*Dirección de Integración y Desarrollo de la Comunidad, Ministerio de Gobierno*) contrasts strongly with the dependency of "tourist Yagua" in the environs of Leticia and Iquitos and other villages such as Puerto Nariño (Colombia). (18)

The Tukuna from Imariacu and Arara refuse to perform any type of ceremony or dance for the entertainment of tourists. Those visitors present when a ceremony is being prepared are asked politely but firmly to leave unless they have been especially invited to attend. Unfortunately there are still tourists who do not respect the wishes of the indigenous people as the following description of an "intellectual" Mexican by the name of Ludlow shows:

> The indigenous people, generally hospitable and polite, are not happy having white people at a festival and even less with the frequent clicks of cameras; nevertheless the Mexican engineer managed to take some instant snaps of the girls... (Tibon 1984:288).

That those affected do not react more strongly to this type of abuse is due to their long history of intimidation from "patrons" to whom they have been victims. A little over 100 years ago, the 29th November, 1881, a religious ceremony being performed in the village Caballo Cocha was interrupted by a US marine officer Herndon and the local parish priest. Herndon's description of what happened speaks for itself:

> The young man turned his face to the wall with a sullen look, and although the old man smiled when he was patted on the head and desired to proceed with his music, yet it was with a smile that had no mirth or satisfaction in it, and that showed plainly that he was annoyed, and would have expressed his annoyance had he dared (1853:236).

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Indian Shows

The use of indigenous costumes in shows dates back to the 16th century when, for example, the Tupinamba people had to stage fictitious festivals for the court of Von Rouen (Bitterli 1982:181). In the 19th century is was common for travellers and researchers of evolutionary theories to "order" dances and ceremonies generally to confirm their theses. There are many examples such as this from Spix and Martius:

> Our soldier carried out his orders and offered (to the Coroados, 1818) manioc, maize and alcohol and as a result a large number of them came to perform their dance rituals (1966:37)...In the evening we organised the dances of the Juris (1.1.1820)..these dances unite the savagery and terrible maleability which crude primitive man of America expresses with his body...What a horrible image of the indian! (ibid:1226, 1228f).

Extracts from Amazon Tourist brochures.

It is sad to say but these methods are not confined to the past. Today alcohol is still given to the Indians so that they will be "co-operative". The Yagua from

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Q. Tucuchira are so fond of drinking that their Tukuna neighbours even in 1975 complained bitterly of their behaviour in front of us. So the tourists are nevertheless assured of seeing the "primitive Yagua Indians" (Turamazonas brochure, Leticia, 1984).

The "show" is similar in all the tourist villages: before the visitors arrive the Indians take off their western clothes, paint themselves and don their "typical dress" which is highly photogenic. The New York jet setter, Bob Colacellos, describes his lightening visit to the Yagua of Q. Tucuchira (Interview 1981:60):

> As we approached the shore, we saw an Indian jumpt out of his jeans and into a grass skirt...Everyone was standing in a door or at a window, dangling necklaces made of feathers, nuts and bonesbefore our eyes, though they could somehow convert dollars into Brazilian cruzeiros and Colombian pesos...our guide...was expert at bargaining the Indians down...He even persuaded an Indian to blow his dart".

In the neighbourhood of Iquitos where the tourist "scene" is more intense the women and children make baskets of palm fibre and bags for the tourists. For this quickly produced and badly finished artisan work they receive trinkets as a form of payment. Exotic necklaces and pan pipes are also traded in this way. Then the men line up for the obligatory performance of shooting the darts, later they play the pan pipes a little, bang their drums and walk in circles while the cameras click incessantly and the cine films run. Mick Jagger in an interview with Andy Warhol (New York, 1981:28) (19) describes his experience "What the tour guides do is take all the Indians' clothes off and put their little skirts on them, hand them a spear which they hand back at the end. The Indians dance a little around you."

If the average figure of 1000 visitors per month is accurate for the Iquitos tourist hotel (Rhodes 1983:24) then this exceeds the number of indigenous people who live there (910 according to Baca 1981) and signifies a real load. As a consequence there are complaints that: "..our brothers are exhibited to the tourists like animals, they cannot make gardens anywhere and have to devote themselves to the tourist so that they can take photos and work so that the company sells to the tourists" (Cahuachi Mozombite 1984:258). Another type of show consists of taking the Indians directly to the hotel so that they can dance there for the tourists. On the 7th August, 1981, in Leticia, I witnessed such a humiliating event. A tourist company had managed to oblige the Huitoto Indians who live by km. 11 on the Tarapacá road (20) to perform a "traditional dance" on the patio of the hotel. For this occasion the women, who usually wear normal clothes, had to dance semi-naked and the men had to wear shorts and feather crowns. It was evident that the young girls were embarrassed while the men and the women were silent and refused to take part. This resulted in a vehe-

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ment but quiet discussion between the operator and the Huitoto representative. Later after being served a large quantity of *aguardiente* they became more disposed to co-operate. They danced without pleasure and with their eyes averted. That the representative for indigenous affairs (who knew of the "farce" and looked ashamed after my complaints) will organise, after the event, a discussion on the performance, in no way repares for the damage caused. (21) The indigenous representative, Cahuachi Mozombite, expressed the feelings of his humiliated people:

> The owners of the business makes them perform dances at any time and it goes against our customs in that for us, each dance should be performed at a different time of the year, times which are holiday for us. We have asked the public authorities to forbid this exploitation of our brothers as exhibition objects... (1984:258,266).

But as far as the "public authorities" are concerned, no one expects much because they themselves use the indigenous people for "folkloric shows" for their own holidays in Iquitos.

Swindlers and the Swindled

What the anthropologist Dumont said for the Philippines is as relevant for the Amazon as it is for other non-industrial regions: "the tourist can only find what is presented to him...He is not only a consumer of what is produced for him but an active producer of what he consumes: (1984:140). Unhappily, direct contact between indigenous people and tourists does not produce a mutual understanding, but more the consolidation and perpetuation of prejudices on both sides. (22) The definition of the tourist, since the first travellers, photographers, adventurers and anthropologists is a complicated question and for indigenous people the differentiation is difficult. For them, over and above the missionaries, there are two classes of tourist, the "patrons" and the "*regatones*" or "gringos". We were classified in the first group during our visit to the Yagua (the same applied to Dumont, cf. 1984:144) while further down river we were classed as tourists and treated as such. This is a direct result of the "tourist wave" from the 1960s when these indigenous people were visited in the areas where they lived and which made them move further downriver. The relocation of some indigenous peoples near to the tourist hotels has meant that those living in the depth of the forest have been left in more tranquility, but not so for those living on the banks of the Amazon who have experienced a constant increase in pressure from tourism. A common phenomenon is the low morale of the indigenous people (apathy and depression) and poor health (tuberculosis and alcoholism) which affects them. This is seen as a consequence of social disintegration and the abandonment of

subsistence activities. The tourist businesses have contributed largely to the latter and are still active in promoting a total dependence where already the indigenous people have no time for hunting, fishing or tending crops because they have obligations to fulfill for the tourists and also due to the fact that their territories are "over-fished" and "over-hunted" (due among other things to the presence of the tourists). Furthermore the regions available to the indigenous peoples are too small to support the traditional mode of cultivation of slash and burn agriculture. Basic foodstuffs have also to be bought from the tour operators at very high prices which leads to malnutrition (foodstuffs with a high carbohydrate content and little protein or vitamins).

Furthermore, it is more and more difficult for the indigenous people to get property titles for the lands they live on (cf. Chaumeil, 1984:52ff). These are generally the property of tourist businesses which have little trouble in getting them at moderate prices. In 1981 a Belgian national acquired 11 acres of land on the Río Momon for US$1000 (Peru Rhodes, 1983:22). A little later (1983) Explorama Tours was given a title for a land concession of 2,550 hectares at the mouth of the Río Sucusari (Peru) against which the local indigenous people lodged an ineffectual protest to the Ministry of Agriculture in June 1984 (Cahuachi Mozombite, 1984:265). Cahuachi Mozombite tells the case of some Yagua from the lower Napo who, due to the pressure from a tour operator, had to abandon the land which legally belonged to them in order to go and populate a tourist lodge (op.cit.1984:258).

Indigenous territories and reserves which would assure the semi-nomadic way of life of certain groups, are, independent of tourism, important for the existence of the indigenous people.

Less evident and badly documented are the consequences of the "indirect tourist wave" (Aspelin, 1975) where indigenous people do not enter into direct contact with the tourist. This concerns principally the commoditisation of handicrafts by artisan and "souvenir" businesses. These can work independently or in connection with a tour operator. In many cases it is the same agency that owns the "souvenir" businesses in the cities where the products from the tourist lodges are commercialised. It is understood that in a social field so dominated by what is called "slavery through debt" it is the boss and not the producer who settles the prices. In the environs of Leticia, for example, the amounts which the indigenous people receive for their products has barely changed over ten years (1974-1984) while the intermediary, beyond adjusting the prices because of inflation, makes enormous profits (700-1,500%). (23)

The miserable prices paid for artisan goods such as fibre and net bags, hammocks, baskets, cowhide pictures, jewelry and wooden carvings; the acceleration of the production process that the businesses have demanded; and the total

ignorance on the part of the tourist have added to an appreciable lowering of the quality of these products. The palm fibres used for making bags and hammocks are double as thick as the originals; in place of natural dyes synthetic paints are used; technical variation and decoration are reduced to an absolute minimum. Details, such as the finishing of the straps of the bags and the clasps on the necklaces, are carelessly made due to the fact that, as the Yagua women express it, "these people do not know any better".

The Tukuna who are famous for their basketwork and wooden carvings no longer tint the fibre before making the baskets but paint the motives directly onto them. The carvings which were previously made in hard wood are today made from balsa wood. It is also necessary to make concessions to the wishes of the businesses and tourists. For example, the owner of a large business in Leticia engaged the Yagua of Loreto Yacu to make a series of dolls representing women with large breasts and the Tukuna and Huitoto to make grotesque masks. In the artisan market in San Juan, near Iquitos, (sponsored by ORDELORETO) it is possible to find fantastic spears and arrows which bear no relationship with those that the indigenous people use.

Dart throwers, canoes, paddles, manioc presses and necklaces are manufactured in miniature to make it easy for the tourists to transport them home. In the same way, the cowhide paintings are adapted to the standard of the western markets. This phenomenon should not be confused with so-called "tourist art" (see Lathrap in Graburn 1976 for an example among the Shipibo) which develops from within a community spontaneously. (24)

For their part, the Yagua, Tukuna and other indigenous groups in similar situations are quite aware of how unrepresentative the artisan work is. Nevertheless as people and representatives of an ethnic minority, they feel profoundly affected by tourism:

> for us as indigenous people, the promotion of tourism is a commercialisation of our customs and more than that, the violation of our rights as citizens. We, the indigenous people, see how our artisan work is being commercialised to an extreme... For us, the tourism promotion in the region is only concerned with commercialisation and has nothing to do with the worth of our customs (Cahuachi Mozombite 1984: 257,263).

> It ought to be properly orientated towards valuing our traditions and not to using us like animals or rare objects. We should promote tourism in our culture ourselves and not businesses or foreigners. We ought to be consulted as indigenous people on the promotion of our culture for tourism because we know that it is not possible to promote our culture to tourists while there is no appreciation of its worth and value and while the national society and, especially the State, do not respect us and want to continue using us as if we were animals and not human beings (Cahuachi Mozombite: 261).

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Notes

1. For details on the interaction between these different invading groups see Aspelin 1975, Seiler-Baldinger 1980.
2. There has not been any primary tropical rainforest since the middle of the 19th century along the Amazon or any of its major affluents (Seiler-Baldinger 1979:57).
3. The "recreo" ("holidaying") between Leticia and Manaus was stopped in 1974. In 1981 a luxury boat was built with a capacity of 50 passengers which made a weekly crossing between Leticia and Iquitos. Furthermore, the vessel Nariño which was recently renovated for the film Fitzcarraldo is also used for tourists.
4. There is a road running for 6km. from Leticia towards Tabatinga. Only 33kms. of the road to Tarapacá begun in 1933 is completed. The road network from Iquitos is not much better. The Northern Perimeter exists only as a project even though in Tabatinga there has been a bridgehead built since 1976.
5. The literature on the rubber boom is extensive. For more references see Seiler-Baldinger 1979:55.
6. Iquitos was founded indirectly by the Jesuit reductions from 1729-1736 in the Bajo Haya region. In 1877 it became the capital for the department of Loreto and had a population of about 10,000 inhabitants.
7. The official date for its foundation is 1876 (in reality 1864) when the Peruvian officer Bustamante had the "Mariscal Castilla" built. The building works was first begun in January 1868 when the foundations for the future town of "San antonio de la Frontera" were laid down (Raimondi in: Larrabure and Correa 1905:347).
8. For the history of the conflict over the so-called "Amazon swindle" see Seiler-Baldinger 1981:278,286, footnotes 6 and 7.
9. PRORADAM gives for Leticia an official figure of 12,000 tourists which is irrelevant in that the "businessmen" (largely drug traffikers) are also declared to be "tourists".
10. I refer to my own observations from 1973 and information from the hotel owners, tourist guides and the city inhabitants. There are interesting parallels here between the fur trade and animals on the one hand and drug traffiking on the other. The tourist boom was responsible for the trade in live animals, skins and expensive furs (ocelot, jaguar, nutria and caiman). Those who benefit most from this is therefore the owners of the large hotels with

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their own tourist agencies. This has been the case since 1978 for drug traffiking but with a negative influence on real tourism. In 1981 I found it extremely difficult to get accommodation for the simple reason that all the hotel rooms had been reserved for "businessmen" (in spite of the fact that the latter only use the rooms a few days each month!). The situation changed radically in 1984 due to the assassination of the Colombian Minister of Justice by the drug mafia and to the measures taken to combat these events in Peru by the President, Belaunde Terry (under pressure from the USA). Consequently the "coca kings" escaped to Panama and reduced their activities to a minimum. For more about this see Duzan and Manrique 1986.

11. In 1977 Iquitos had 25 hotels with a capacity of 1,442 beds (Villarejo 1979:290).
12. The average duration of a tourist's visit in the Amazon is from 2 to 7 days. Details on the kind of tourism exist only for the city of Iquitos and the tourism figures for 1977 were: internal 60.8%; European 19.13%; USA 14.2%. Only 3.1% of the tourists came from other parts of South America. The remaining 2,77% is divided between Asia, Africa, Oceania and Central america (Villarejo 1979:289). In 1980 the percentage of Peruvian tourists was 59% (Baca 1981:81).
13. This practice was introduced by the Jesuit and Carmelite reductions then reintroduced by the "Patrones" and perpetuated in what is called "debt slavery".
14. The remainder consists of Bora, Huitoto and a few Jívaro.
15. Originally they were, just as the Yagua, inhabitants of the forest (Terra Firme) and numbered some 20,000 living near the Amazon between Caballo Cocha (Peru) and Tanantis (Brazil).
16. See Cardoso de Oliveira 1960:91; 1977:148.
17. For Arara see Staähle 1972:408 and Martinez Muñoz 1981:7. Arara has approximately 340 inhabitants. Bella Vista has 565 inhabitants according to the data from S. Caruscens of 19.04.85.
18. Puerto Nariño has about 900 inhabitants, 90% of which are Tukuna. Tourist accommodation has also been built there (1984).
19. Mick Jagger was in Iquitos because of his role in the film "Fitzcarraldo" by Herzog. However, his scenes were not included in the final version of the film.
20. 25 Huitoto live there. They are descendants of fugitives from the Putamayo region during the rubber boom era.
21. In writing this article I was regretfully unable to take part in this discussion.
22. A tourist agency will publicise its tours and calm the bad conscience of the jet-setting Auca-Quechuan Indian, Sam Padilla, who acts as a guide for visi-

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tors to his isolated group in the following manner: "Samuel is very concerned with the oil exploitation which will soon reach Auca territory and will drastically and for ever change the way of life. So he has dedicated himself to guiding small groups of tourists for short periods of stay to visit his people in order to prepare them for the inevitable changes they will soon experience" (Wilderness travel, 1984:13). It is precisely those tourists who are able to afford these exclusive tours (approx. US$ 1050) who are atypical of the society with which the indigenous people are briefly faced.

23. Unfortunately there is no statistical material for either Iquitos or Leticia. I based my material on personal observations and regular pilot studies.
24. See Seiler-Baldinger 1985 and Ferner Wickers 1983:38 for the significance of traditional artisan work in relation to tourism.

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